

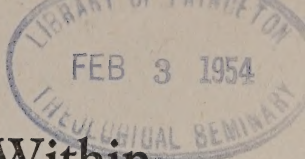




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American Protestantism,







# The Negro Community Within American Protestantism

1619-1844

by

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"AND TO MAKE ALL MEN  
SEE WHAT IS THE FELLOWSHIP  
OF THE MYSTERY." EPHESIANS 3:9

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PRINTED IN  
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TO  
THE ONES WHO HAVE LOVED ME  
MY DEAR WIFE LEILA  
AND  
MY THREE CHILDREN, ANGELINE, WALTER AND  
LEONARD III

## FOREWORD

No consideration of the American scene is complete without a careful analysis of the Negro community. This is especially true in the field of American Church History. Except possibly in the field of the Arts, the Negro has made his most distinct contribution in American Protestantism. The Medicine Man of the tribal life of Africa became the early preacher interpreting, in his own artistic manner, the simple truths of the gospel. As Counselor and Guide, he helped the slaves make adjustments in a new cultural pattern. The stories, the ceremonies and rituals of Africa were made concrete in an American cultural pattern. Religion and the Church afforded practically the chief means of adjustment.

This study is vitally important, for I firmly believe that with further analysis it will become evident that the Negro has definitely influenced American Protestantism but this influence has neither been understood nor considered today.

If we are to understand the present scene and chart the future of American Protestantism a back-ground study of the Negro community is necessary.

The present work is a beginning and makes a real contribution to the study of American Church History during this early period, 1619-1844. This period represents the foundation, and serious research needs to be made for the period from 1844 to the present day.

The Disinherited shall lead the world through the upsurge of their religious experience to a renewal of the religious principles of democracy.

**Bishop M. W. Clair, Jr.**  
*The Methodist Church*  
*St. Louis Area.*

## PREFACE

Gunnar Myrdal focused the attention of concerned American citizens and especially of scholars, educators and religious leaders on the peculiar valuational aspects of race relations in *An American Dilemma*. Religion is a basic ingredient in the American creed. Dominant in the religious forces of American history up to the civil war were the Protestant groups. A study of the Negro community within American Protestantism thus makes a contribution to an understanding of the emergence of the American dilemma in race relations. Dr. Leonard L. Haynes provides a descriptive historical analysis of the development of the Negro community and its relation to Protestantism in the formative period. The period covered is 1619 to 1844. These are, of course, natural dates. The year 1844 marks the breakdown of the national unity of several major Protestant denominations over the issues precipitated by Negro slavery and its implications for the institutions of Christianity.

One of the early dilemmas which the colonists faced had to do with the question whether conscientious slave masters would deny conversion and baptism to the slaves and thus retard Christianization or to favor these religious responsibilities at the cost of loss of their property. The compromise with conscience which emerged was that in some colonial assemblies the religious sanction of slavery was altered to basing slavery on race. Christianization thus no longer provided a means for enfranchisement as free persons, slaves being required to serve for life. Nevertheless masters were admonished to instruct their slaves in the Christian life. Dr. Haynes' illuminating treatment of this and other basic problems throws significant light on one of the troublesome scandals of the Christian Community.

This book carries through quite systematically an account of the different Protestant denominations in their early and later treatment of Negroes. It thus makes available in a readable form the fruit of a great many specialized monographs in American church history. Accommodation by the denominations to the institution of slavery

was the general policy before the American Revolution. Slaves were to be converted and baptized, but their emancipation was not sought. With the Revolution, and its arguments about natural and inalienable rights, certain adaptations were made. The religious and moral argument against slavery began to make itself felt. Positive approaches to the Negro community were fraught with many difficulties because of its specific background and the social economic forces that made for the static subjection of the slave population. Here again the systematic and comprehensive description makes quite clear the dominant culture patterns. The patterns which developed as a result of Negro leadership in many instances became decisive. These are especially intriguing because the dialectic of accommodation and protest within the churches, providing on the one hand rationalization and on the other zeal for abolition, made for situations of self-contradiction, confusion, hypocrisy, reversals of action and division. To maintain a common social ethic and a unified community became increasingly difficult in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. As denominations accommodated the Negro protest developed its own institutional expression. Caste consciousness in Protestantism was answered by the founding of independent Negro churches. Religious and secular forces interpenetrated in most instances.

Dr. Haynes' book is the direct resultant of his doctoral dissertation in Boston University School of Theology. It has been altered only slightly in form. While this makes for some lack in felicity of style, it aids in a rapid mastery of the structure of the argument, only a portion of which have we hinted at above. The major theses are sociologically not new but it is hoped that churches which take this history seriously may thereby more speedily take steps to eradicate the caste pattern which is the white man's moral responsibility.

June 9, 1952

— Walter G. Muelder  
Boston University School of Theology

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface .....	7
Introduction	
A. The Problem .....	13
B. Importance and Need .....	14
C. Definition of Terms .....	15
D. Review of the Literature in the Field .....	16
E. Method and Scope of Study .....	21
F. Organization of the Book .....	22

### PART I

#### The Negro Community Within American Protestantism 1619 - 1800

Chapter I. The Beginnings of the Negro Community in America .....	25
A. Slavery in the American Colonies .....	25
The African Slave Trade .....	26
Slavery in the American Colonies .....	27
Negro Servitude preceeds Negro Slavery .....	28
Legal Developments in the Institution of Slavery .....	30
B. African Religious Background .....	31
Religion the Negro brought to America .....	32
Changes in Negro music indicate a religious development .....	33
The Negro Community defined .....	34
Chapter II. Protestant Denominational Approaches to the Negro Community .....	35
A. Ideological Attitudes toward American Slavery before the Revolutionary War .....	35

✓	Christianity and slavery .....	36
	Governmental attitudes toward slavery .....	37
	The Denominational Approaches to the Negro .....	39
B.	Adaptations Made by the American Revolution .....	46
	The moral and religious arguments .....	47
✓	Rise of Abolitionary Attitudes toward slavery in the Nation and in the Protestant Churches .....	48
	The Unitarians, A new movement .....	48
Chapter III. Religion in the Negro Community Before 1800 .....		50
A.	General Hindrances .....	50
B.	Specific Hindrances .....	51
C.	Organizational Life; General Situation .....	52
D.	Specific Instances .....	52
	Negro Community in the Church of England ....	53
	Negro Community and the Quakers .....	53
	The Methodists and the Negro Community .....	54
✓	The Baptists and local democracy .....	60
	The Presbyterians and the Negro .....	65
	The Congregational Churches .....	66
✓	E. Types of Worship Found in the Negro Community .....	67
	The Bible, the Center of Religious Belief .....	69
	The Negro Community's Response to the Christian Message .....	68
	Roland Hayes' great grandfather Charles .....	70
	The Negro Spiritual indicates a religious development .....	72
	The Shout .....	73
	Phillis Wheatley and her religious poetry .....	74
F.	Summary of the Protestant Denominational Approaches in the period 1619 - 1800 .....	75

PART II

The Negro Community Within American  
Protestantism 1800 – 1844.

Chapter IV. Anti-Slavery Sentiments Within the American Protestant Community 1800 – 1830 .....	79
A. General Background .....	79
The Federalist Party .....	80
The Republican Party .....	80
The development of sectional differences between the South and the North .....	82
Changes in the Southern economy that affected the Negro Community .....	83
B. Numerical Growth of the Negro Community in the period 1800 – 1830 .....	84
C. Anti-Slavery Sentiments in the Nation .....	89
Prominent Men of the South .....	89
Newspapers, essays, and magazines in the South reveal anti-slavery attitudes .....	90
Prominent Men in the North .....	95
Travelers in the United States .....	98
Newspaper Editors and Writers in the North .....	100
Similarities in Northern and Southern senti- ments towards slavery in the period 1800 – 1830 .....	101
Differences .....	101
D. The National Law of 1807 .....	102
E. The Legal Status of the Negro Community in the period 1800 – 1830 .....	102
In the North .....	103
In the South .....	105
F. The Position of the American Protestant Community respecting Slavery 1800 – 1830 ....	108

The Methodist .....	109
The Baptists .....	111
The Presbyterians .....	113
The Quakers .....	116
G. The American Colonization Society .....	117
H. Summary .....	119
Chapter V. The Negro Protest .....	122
A. General Situation .....	122
B. The Independent Negro Church Movement ....	123
The African Methodist Episcopal Church ....	125
The Union African Church of Wilmington, Delaware .....	131
The Organization of the African Methodist Episcopal Church .....	132
African Methodist Episcopal Discipline .....	135
African Methodist Episcopal Hymnal .....	136
The African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion .....	136
The Negro Methodists in Washington, D. C. ....	136
The Negro Within Methodism .....	139
Zoar Methodist Church, Camping-Town, Philadelphia .....	140
The Negro Methodists in the South .....	140
The Work of William Capers in South Carolina .....	141
The Baptists .....	142
The Presbyterians and the work of John Gloucester .....	143
The Congregational Church .....	143
C. The Negro Slave Revolts .....	144
Similarities between Negro Slave Revolts and the Peasant Revolts during the period of the Reformation .....	144
The Revolutionary Character of Protestant Christianity affects the Negro Community .....	145

The Apocalyptic Character of the Negro Slave Revolts .....	145
Gabriel Prosser Revolt of 1800 .....	146
Denmark Vesey Revolt of 1822 .....	148
Nat Turner Revolt of 1831 .....	154
D. The Colored Citizens' Protest; Organization and Agitation .....	158
The American Convention of Free Colored People in the United States .....	158
David Walker's "Appeal" .....	159
E. Summary .....	161
Chapter VI. The Protestant Reply: 1830 - 1844 ....	164
A. General Situation .....	164
B. Specific American Reform .....	168
Educational Reforms .....	170
Social Reforms .....	172
Secular Utopias .....	172
Religious Reform .....	177
Religious Utopias .....	178
The Finney Revivals .....	180
The Unitarians .....	182
The Transcendentalists .....	183
C. The American Protestant Community and the Negro .....	184
The Baptist Churches .....	185
The Presbyterian Church .....	187
The Protestant Episcopal Church .....	191
The Methodist Church .....	193
The American Protestant Community Replies to the Negro Protest through the Anti-Slavery Society .....	210

Chapter VII. Summary and Conclusion .....	213
A. Summary .....	213
B. Conclusion .....	217
Bibliography .....	219
Footnotes .....	244
Index .....	259

## INTRODUCTION

### *A. The Problem.*

The Christian declarations of the "Fatherhood of God," "Brotherhood of Man," and the "Kingdom of God" have been symbols of hope for the oppressed peoples all over the world. The problem of whether the American Protestant Community will continue to tolerate a caste consciousness within its own community toward the Negro becomes of necessity a world's problem.

The Negro Community within American Protestantism is only one phase of the most comprehensive problem of human freedom that is agitating the conscience of America. The Negro Community is knocking vehemently at the doors of the American Protestant Community for a recognition of its worth and dignity in "Christian America." This knock cannot be silenced if the Christian religion is still to remain a symbol of hope for the elimination of the caste status of the Negro Community.

The problem of the Negro Community within American Protestantism must be met, must be discussed, must be decided, and decided correctly before American Protestantism can be fully Christian, and before the Christian Church can secure her own liberty and find permanent repose. Such a problem, therefore, needs to be described in order that American Protestantism may be fully aware of the needs involved and conscious of effective steps to meet these needs.

This study is concerned with the period of history from 1619 to 1844, and its purpose is 1) to trace the development of the Negro Community within American Protestantism; 2) to show why and when the segregated and separated Negro Community developed within American

Protestantism; 3) to show to what extent the Negro Community developed within American Protestantism; and 4) to show the reactions of the Negro and white Protestants to the development of the Negro Community.

### *B. Importance and Need.*

The importance of this study is that it will provide an historic frame of reference for the study of the early development of the Negro Community within American Protestantism. No such study has been made. Consequently there is a great deal of prejudiced opinion about the role of the Protestant church in the life of the Negro Community 1619-1844.

There is need for such a study in the field of Church history to combat a growing tendency for the Negro to leave the Protestant Community for other religious communities without yet understanding the historical basis for this desire. There is also need for the sources of the religious history of the Negro Community to be made available for students in the field of American Church history.

### *C. Definition of Terms.*

1. Community. (Throughout this study the author will use the general definitions given by R. M. MacIver of the terms community and association.) MacIver defines *community* as,

The common life of beings who are guided essentially from within . . ., relating themselves to one another, weaving for themselves the complex web of social unity. It includes all of the infinite variety and complexity of relations which result from that common life or constitute it. It is men in relation to each other.<sup>1</sup>

2. MacIver defines *association* as,

An organization of social behavior (or a body of social being as organized) for the pursuit of some common interest or interests. It is determinate social unity built upon a common purpose.<sup>2</sup>

3. The American Protestant Community may be defined, therefore, as that aspect of common life in America immediately or remotely related to the Reformation.<sup>3</sup>

4. The Negro Community Within American Protestantism is defined by the author to mean that aspect of common life within American Protestantism which is distinguished by the biological, physical, psychological, and religious characteristics of Negro life.

5. Voluntary Association: "A group freely organized by citizens for the pursuit of some interest in contrast to a state established agency."<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of this book, the author will define *voluntary associations* as "freely organized groups pursuing certain interests and differentiated from the religious denomination."

6. Segregated Church: That form of religious community founded on a caste basis which maintains and restricts membership to members of the caste.

7. Caste: A form of social grouping with permanent restrictions imposed upon it by members of a majority group. These restrictions are rigid. They cannot be crossed except by illegitimate means. The author will speak of caste as it relates to the restrictions imposed by the American whites upon the Negro race. The segregated church is one form of this caste restriction.

8. Separated Church: A separated church is a church formed on a caste basis. Its membership is composed of members of a caste. The Negro Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church is an example of a caste separated church grouping. The Negro in this instance is organized into a caste church while, at the same time, he maintains

a relationship with the whites in the larger associational life of the Methodist Church.

9. Class: A form of social group stratification devoid of any restrictive line which would prevent social mobility. "Class" is distinguished from "caste" in that there is a larger difference in freedom of movement of social groups. A man born a Negro in America is not allowed to pass from one class to another. Rather, he is restricted to a caste. A man born white, however, may pass from one class to another. Caste is movement along vertical lines, while class movement is along horizontal lines. However, there is the possibility of a class existing within a caste. A Negro member of a caste may also participate as a member of a class within the Negro caste.<sup>5</sup>

10. Accommodate: "The process in which interacting groups may modify their organization, role, or status to conform to the requirements set up by the situation or by the inclusive social unit."<sup>6</sup>

11. Social Protest: That form of group objections, formal or informal, against restrictions which are imposed upon the less privileged group by the privileged group.

#### *D. Review of the Literature in the Field.*

1. Slavery. The most important works on the subject of slavery are to be found in the John Hopkins University studies of history, economics and political science, especially volumes 6, 7, 8, 14 and 24. These will provide a reading list for further investigation. W. E. B. Dubois's *Suppression of the African Slave Trade* is also an excellent study and a must for any investigation of the slave trade in the colonial period. The most comprehensive individual study on slavery is Henry Wilson's, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, 3 volumes. For the culture traits of the Negro in Africa and America, see Ty-

lor's, *Primitive Culture*, Herkovits's, *The Myth of the Negro's Past*, and Boas's, *The Mind of Primitive Man*.

2. The Negro Within American Protestantism. Carter G. Woodson, editor of the *Journal of Negro History*, provides a good beginning for a study of the Negro in American Protestantism. These volumes are invaluable aid for research and investigation. The best aid for the study of the Negro church is Woodson's, *The History of the Negro Church!* Though lacking in bibliography and footnotes, it still is the most important work on the subject. May's and Nicholson's, *The Negro Church*, is an educational study, and while it provides excellent study for the religious educator, there is not much help for historical investigation.

A more recent book, *The Protestant Church and the Negro*, by Frank Loescher, is an able critical study of the American Protestant caste-status attitude taken toward the Negro Community. However, the reader of this book is most apt to get lost in details and lose the whole spirit of American Protestant Christianity. In other words, he won't be able to see the forest for the trees. These are the most important works in the field, hence one can recognize the need for religious studies in this area. Myrdal's, *An American Dilemma*, has some very interesting comments on the Negro Church in the Negro Community and should command interested attention of all working in the field. Another such chapter is Richard Niebuhr's, *The Social Source of Denominationalism in America*.

Daniel A. Payne's, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, J. W. Hood's, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion*, The Religious Census for 1926, Vol. 2, 1936, 3 volumes, provide interesting study on the Negro church affiliations in the American Protestant Community.

3. American History. Herbert W. Schneider's, *A History of American Philosophy*, Merle Curti's, *The Growth of American Thought*, Parrington's, *Main Currents in American Thought*, Muelder and Sears's, *The Development of American Philosophy*, Albert Bushnell Hart's, *National Ideals Historically Traced*, especially the first 12 volumes, Charles and Mary Beard's, *The Rise of the American Civilization* are good references in the realm of American History.

4. Church Histories. *The American Church History Series* has some very interesting data which, if followed through for further investigation, will lead the investigator to a source of information on the Protestant attitudes and approaches to the Negro Community. This work was invaluable to the author as a starting point for the investigation of the Denominational Approaches toward the Negro Community. The *Disciplines and Minutes of the Annual and General Conferences of the Methodist Church* are very good for a study of anti-slavery legislation. Humphrey's, *An Historical Account for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, and also abstracts containing the Society's Minutes are good for a study of the Anglican Church's attitude toward and approaches to the Negro in this period. The works of Benezet and Woolman provide interesting information on Quaker approaches to the Negro. Cotton Mather's, *Essays on Doing Good*, and his life of the Rev. John Elliot are good for an early study of the Congregational approach to the Negro Community. Goodell's, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, Birney's, *The American Churches* are good for showing the anti-slavery and slavery sentiments in the American churches. There are many other journals, books, and other works which the author used in his investigation and which will be listed in the bibliography.

5. American Law. A very important subject in a description of the Negro Community in America is the subject of law. An understanding of the Negro Community is more easily grasped if one understands the legal developments in the American Community as it related to the Negro. John C. Hurd's two volume work, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, (the first volume being a dissertation on common law and the law of slavery; the second, a description of cases described in the lower courts of the United States) are very helpful. Jacob D. Wheeler; *A Practical Treatise on the Law of Slavery* is the most comprehensive work of its kind as it deals mainly with decisions in the several courts of the United States. George M. Stroud: *A Sketch of Laws relating to Slavery* is good for understanding the legal implications of slavery, but it must be always kept in mind that Stroud was an anti-slavery man, though not a member of an abolition society. The colonial laws of the various states are good for an understanding of the institution of slavery in each particular state, and provide interesting source material for this study. These sources will be listed in the bibliography.

6. Records of the Societies. The records of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the American Colonization Society are invaluable for this study. *The Minutes and Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the People of Color* were indispensable for throwing light on the Negro's participation in the anti-slavery struggle.

7. Newspapers. The most important newspapers of the period under discussion are Benjamin Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. The *Genius* was published in the South and the *Liberator* in the North. A digest of sectional opinions of the leading men of the day in both sections, North and South, is contained in these papers. *The Niles Weekly*

*Register*, published by Ezekiel Niles during the period 1800-1844, was invaluable to this study as providing a disinterested view of the slavery controversy during the period. *The Zion's Watchman* and the *Zion's Herald* were both valuable. However, these sources usually referred to the slavery controversy in the Methodist Church. Hence, a duplication of the minutes of the various conferences did not aid the author to any extent since the minutes themselves were accessible. However, these papers were important as they referred to the participation of the Negro in the anti-slavery agitation within the Methodist Church. Copies of the *Boston Gazette* were also used in this study and were interesting sources of information.

8. Slave Revolts. The literature on the slave revolts in America, 1800-1831, is accessible. Gray's, *The Confession of Nat Turner*, one of the few copies in existence, is in the Weidner Library of Harvard University and is the best source of information on the Nat Turner revolt. Grimke's, *Right on the Scaffold or the Martyrs* of 1822, is one of the best sources of the trials of Denmark Vesey. Two lawyers at the trial of Denmark Vesey have left an interesting record of the trial in *An Official Report of the Negro Plot in Charleston*. The studies of Carroll and Aptheker on Negro Slave Revolts in the United States are very valuable reading in this field of inquiry. However, the emphasis of the apocalyptic influences in the leaders of the slave revolts is totally misunderstood.

The author had tried to deal with the subject as a part of the whole American setting. It is only by seeing the whole that one can understand the significance of any of its parts. Such a study as the Negro Community Within American Protestantism deserves such a treatment. The author had listed only a few of the books explored by this study. All statistics used in this study are taken directly

from the Department of State's Statistical Review of the Population of the United States, 1790-1830.

*E. Method and Scope of Study.*

The author will use the historic descriptive method in approaching the study of the Negro Community Within American Protestantism 1619-1844. In the description the author will consider the Negro Community as being only a special phase of the whole complex problem of human freedom in the larger area of American life. The author takes the position that the religious status of the Negro Community is predominantly determined by its total American setting. The author shall describe the changes in the American Community which are made by the direct presence of the Negro Community in American life. Not only this, but a description of the changes within the Negro Community brought about by the influence of the total American historical setting will be described. The point to be kept in mind is that the Negro Community Within American Protestantism is not an isolated problem in the American society.

The scope of this study is limited by an historic date line. The author will be concerned with the Negro Community in American Protestantism in the period 1619-1844. The study is also limited by its emphasis of the Negro within American Protestantism. Let it be kept in mind, that the author reserves the right to interpret historical data whenever it becomes essential to clarify the nature of the problems involved.

*F. Organization of the Book.*

The book is divided into two parts, the period from 1619 to 1800 and that from 1800 to 1844. Each part is composed of three chapters. Then there is a final chapter of summary and conclusion. Chapter I is con-

cerned with the development of the Negro Community from 1619-1800. Chapter II deals with the Protestant Denomination approaches toward the Negro Community. Chapter III deals with the responses the Negro Community made to the Protestant approaches. Chapter IV is concerned with the Anti-slavery Sentiments in the period 1800-1830, in the American Community and in the Protestant Community. Chapter V is concerned with the Negro Protests; the rise of the independent Negro Church movements, the slave revolts, social organizations and agitations as forms of the Negro's Protest. Chapter VI is concerned with the schism in the Protestant Community over slavery, and the resultant efforts of the American churches and the American Anti-Slavery Societies' work for the "immediate emancipation" of the Negro Community. Chapter VII presents the summary of and conclusions gained from the study.

The author is grateful to Dr. E. P. Booth and Dean Walter G. Muelder of Boston University, School of Theology for the kindly aid and advice given in this study, to The Boston Public, New England, Massachusetts Historical, New England Methodist Historical, and the Harvard Weidner Libraries for the aid given in securing material for the study.

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The author is grateful to his parents, Rev. and Mrs. L. L. Haynes, Sr., for the pattern and nature of a Christian home which brought him early into contact with the spiritual resources of Protestantism.

"The author wishes to thank President L. A. Davis of Arkansas A. M. and N. College for the insight and assistance which he gave to lift the load of a young author. To President Davis, he will always have a keen sense of gratitude."

PART I

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY WITHIN  
AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM 1619-1800



# THE NEGRO COMMUNITY WITHIN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM 1619-1844

## CHAPTER I

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN AMERICA

#### *A. Slavery in the American Colonies.*

The Negro Community within American Protestantism, unlike many other American communities, slowly emerged out of the institution of slavery. Any study of the Negro Community must be prefaced with a statement concerning the beginnings of slavery in the New World.

The enslavement of the native Indians was one of the immediate results of Spanish explorations in the New World. Columbus after his second journey in 1493 to Hispaniola (Haiti), wrote to his government offering Indian slaves in exchange for supplies and implements which he needed.<sup>1</sup>

The Indian, however, soon proved a disappointment as a worker on the plantations and in the mines. He was not able to stand the intense strain of hard labor.

Bishop Las Casas, of Chiapia in Hispaniola, on his first arrival in Hispaniola, describes the plight of the Indian slaves. "At my first arrival in Hispaniola, it contained a million of inhabitants; and now (viz. in the space of twenty years) there remains scarce the hundredeth part of them."<sup>2</sup> Bishop Las Casas pleaded in Spain the case of the native Indians, and as a result, the famous contract, "Assiento," was drawn up with Portugal. The contract agreed that Portugal would supply Negro slaves for the Spanish colonies in the New World.<sup>3</sup>

Portugal and Spain<sup>4</sup> were very successful in their profitable slave trading ventures. Soon England determined to

engage in the slave trade. Sir John Hawkins, with the sanction of Queen Elizabeth, made his celebrated journey in 1562. It was not, however, until 1631 that the English developed a regular charter company to carry on the slave trade.<sup>5</sup>

France began its slave trade in 1624<sup>6</sup> with Holland and Denmark soon following her example.<sup>7</sup> In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, England assumed a dominant role in the slave trade. She took over from the Spanish the famed "Assiento" and agreed to deliver 144,000 slaves to the Spanish colonies in the ensuing years.<sup>8</sup>

Between the years 1713 and 1733, fifteen thousand slaves were annually imported into America by the English, of whom one-third to one-half went to the Spanish colonies.<sup>9</sup> England was able to increase her slave trade by the granting of charters to special companies. The "Company of Royal Adventures," rechartered in 1672 the "Royal African Company," was the most famous of these special chartered companies. In 1678 this company was granted exclusive rights to trade between the Gold Coast and the British colonies in America.<sup>10</sup>

In 1698 the slave trade was opened generally to any ship carrying the British flag. The payment of a ten percent duty to Parliament was the only requirement placed by the British on the slave carrying ships.

New England towns of Boston and Newport engaged immediately in the *traffic* which began the famous three-cornered slave *traffic*. Molasses from the West Indies was brought to New England, made into rum, and taken back to Africa in exchange for more slaves which were sold to the West Indies and the Colonies.<sup>11</sup> Soon the majority of the colonies entered the slave trade which lasted until the year 1807. In that year the Congress of the United States passed a law discontinuing the foreign slave trade.

The year 1619 marks the beginning of slavery in the American colonies. A Dutch ship entered the James River with twenty African slaves who were purchased by the colonists at Jamestown, Virginia.<sup>12</sup> The use of Negroes as slaves did not grow rapidly at first because of the still present supply of indentured servants from England. After the year 1688, however, the supply of indentured servants diminished and the demand for Negro slaves increased.<sup>13</sup> Opinion differs among historians as to the exact number of Negro slaves in this country at the beginning of the nineteenth century. "In 1714 there were only 58,850 Negro slaves in America, distributed throughout the colonies. In 1750, there were 220,000 Negroes; in 1760, the number increased to 310,000; in 1770, 462,000; in 1780, 582,000; in 1790, 757,000 Negroes of whom 697,000 were slaves; and in 1801 the total population of slaves in the United States stood at 1,007,037."<sup>14</sup>

The great bulk of the slaves was to be found in the South for the institution did not pay well in the North. The treatment of the slaves in New England was for the most part mild and humane. New England slaves were usually used as domestic servants and they were not infrequently admitted to the family circle and received instruction in religion and morals.<sup>15</sup> In the southern colonies where all social life centered around the owners of the great plantations, the slave was in most cases, treated with utmost cruelty, used only as a bodily servant and plantation laborer, and was constantly under the lash of his master.

The first Negroes brought to this country were called Africans, Moors, Negars, Negers, Negroes and the like.<sup>16</sup> Negro slavery was not originally a transplanted or inherited institution.<sup>17</sup> There is, however, among scholars in

the field of American history a belief that Negro Servitude has priority over Negro Slavery. The problem of Negro Slavery is a very complex one and there is much need for a restudy of the institution.

There is ample proof of the fact that Negro servitude preceded slavery in the American colonies. There is also proof that in cases where Negro slavery preceded Negro servitude those colonies were founded after the change of Negro servitude into slavery was well advanced. It is indeed necessary to clarify the question of priority, since the development of the Negro Community depends upon the establishment of slavery as an institution.

The first Africans brought to the Virginia Colony in 1619 by the early privateers were not put to slavery but to limited servitude.<sup>18</sup> There is also evidence that the colonists were not disposed to treat the first Negroes who landed in the colonies as slaves. They had no tradition of slavery in England at that time.<sup>19</sup> The notion of slavery gained ground very slowly and although conditions surrounding a Negro or Indian<sup>20</sup> in possession could easily make him a defacto slave the colonists seem to have preferred to retain him as a servant.<sup>21</sup>

There is another point in proof of the priority of Negro Servitude over Negro Slavery. As the Negro population increased in the colonies the attitude of the colonists toward making them slaves increased.<sup>22</sup> If after 1619 the Negro population had increased rapidly it may be supposed that his status would also have been defined more sharply than it was.

All through the first half of the seventeenth century importation of Negroes in Virginia was of an occasional nature.<sup>23</sup> Forty years after the introduction of Negroes there were but three hundred in the Colony of Virginia.

It was during the last quarter of the seventeenth century that the number of Negroes in Virginia showed a noticeable increase. By 1683 there were 3,000; between 1700 and 1750 the increase was even more noticeable. In Maryland Negroes were not extensively introduced until the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> In 1665 a few slaves were brought to North Carolina and not until 1700 and after did their number reach 800.<sup>25</sup> Sir John Yeamans in 1671 introduced the first slaves in South Carolina and it was not until 1700 that the number of Negroes in South Carolina became a considerable part of the population.<sup>26</sup> In Pennsylvania, as early as 1639 a number of Negroes served a Swedish company. In 1644, 1657, 1664 and 1677 several Negroes singly and in groups are *known* to have been in the region now known as Pennsylvania.<sup>27</sup> It was not until 1702 that the number increased. In Massachusetts from 1638, when the Salem ship, "Desire," returned from the West Indies with cotton, tobacco and Negroes, to the close of the seventeenth century, the Negro population in the colony was very small. In the nine years from 1698-1707 two hundred Negroes arrived in Massachusetts and by 1735 there were 2,600 Negroes in the colony.<sup>28</sup>

The gradual disappearance of the White indentured servant from the American colonies added also to the beginning of Negro slavery as an institution. The colonies were determined to refuse the use of criminals from England as indentured servants. The indentured servants were under limited contract from England and the need for laborers for a longer stay became increasingly necessary. When an indentured servant became disabled he became a liability on the colony. The colonists also became increasingly aware that the White indentured servants be-

came mediums of social unrest by filling the minds of the Indian and Negro with revolt propaganda. The colonists found early that the use of the Negro as a long time servant was a better way to increase the productivity of the land.<sup>29</sup>

The growth of the mulatto class in the colonies constituted an element which caused the transition from Negro servitude into slavery. The mulatto class was looked upon as an abominable mixture, or as a troublesome element in society. Local laws and colonial statutes were gradually enacted to check and control it.<sup>30</sup> The statutes first granted freedom to a child born from the union of the white and black races. Later, because of the rapid rise of the mulatto class, by law, the child was to take the status of his mother. If his mother were free, then he too was free. If a slave, then the child was born a slave. The first statute to this effect, the act of 1662 in Virginia, was largely enacted because of the intercourse of English men and Negro women.<sup>31</sup> Statutes proclaiming this doctrine were enacted in other colonies as follows: Maryland, 1663; Massachusetts, 1698; Connecticut and New Jersey, 1704; Pennsylvania and New York, 1706; South Carolina, 1712; Rhode Island, 1728; and North Carolina, 1741. To check the growth of the mulatto class, particularly through the intermixture and intermarriage of Negro men and white women, a Virginia law was passed in 1691 providing that the woman be fined, or sold into service for five years, or given five years of added time, and the mulatto thus born be bound out for thirty years. In Maryland, Pennsylvania and North Carolina, similar laws were passed.<sup>32</sup>

A change in the conception of property in the colonies also increased the transition of servitude to slavery. Grad-

ually, Negro servitude necessarily became involved in wills, estate, taxation, and business. Soon Negro servants were classed as property subject to being taxed.<sup>33</sup>

Statutory recognition of slavery by the American colonies occurred as follows: Massachusetts, 1641; Maryland, 1663; New York and New Jersey, 1664; South Carolina, 1682; Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, 1700; North Carolina, 1715; and Georgia, 1755. Prior to these dates the legal status of all subject Negroes was that of servants, and their rights, duties, and distribution were regulated by legislation the same as, or similar to that applied to white servants.<sup>34</sup>

This survey of slavery in the colonies reveals the fact that slavery as a legal institution was a late seventeenth century development which became sharply defined by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

### *B. African Religious Background.*

In tracing the actual development of the Negro Community within American Protestantism a consideration of the religion which the Negro brought to this country seems now both fitting and proper.

Insight may be gained from the cultural anthropologists who have traced the religions of the Negro from Africa to America. The anthropologists generally agree that the prevailing religion of Africa is built around fetishisms and an ancestral worship. The African believed that persons and objects were inhabited by spirits which accounted for the phenomena of the universe by the arbitrary will of spiritual beings whom he feared and, therefore, worshipped, or sought to control by magic. The African was unable to develop unity or companionship with the unseen. Hence, he knew no land of sunshine beyond the

dreadful shadow of the grave. This is in great contrast to the American Negro slave, who after having contact with Christianity looked upon death as a short period of darkness before a day of eternal glory.<sup>35</sup>

What kind of religion did the slave bring from Africa? Two definite cases must bear a testimony, that of Phillis Wheatley and that of the investigator's ancestry.

Phillis Wheatley, a slave brought to this country from Africa, spoke of how her mother worshipped the rising sun. The sun was considered to be a powerful being who was to be feared and revered.<sup>36</sup> Another case comes from the investigator's family by tradition. My grandfather of three generations came over from the Gold Coast of Africa and was sold to a Mr. Haynes in Georgia. My grandfather was an African priest. This fact made him hostile to Christian preachers and to the religion of the Christians. Hence, he refused to join with the other slaves in their religious gatherings on the plantation, and always spoke boldly for the tree god of his native African tradition. The tradition is that there was a tree in the midst of his African village which had been struck by lightning. This symbolized the presence of a god living in that tree. From this moment the tribe worshipped the tree, and it was the duty of my ancestor to preside over the religious life of the tribe. The leaves from the tree were worn around the necks of the tribe members. The leaves were called *gho*, which indicated a form of magical protection for the one who wore them. The leaves were also ground into powder and used as medicine for sick members of the tribe. Each year, my ancestor performed a religious dance of the "first fruit" which insured the tribe of safe hunting and good crops. Having this African background my ancestor isolated himself from the Chris-

tian religious life of the slaves. He died with his face turned toward Africa, and to the tree god which he had worshipped.

The historian must also take account of what happened to the slave groups upon reaching America for this account lends testimony to the religion of the African slaves. Slave groups, upon reaching America, were broken up and their members sold into different parts of the country, where new habits had to be formed because of a different environment. Contrasting the life in Africa with that of the slaves in America, Booker T. Washington better expressed the idea in these words:

The porters, carrying their loads along the narrow forest paths, sing of the love over in their far away home. In the evening the people of the villages gather around the fire and sing for hours. These songs refer to war, to hunting, and to the spirits that dwell in the deep woods. In them all the wild and primitive life of the people is reflected . . . There is a difference, however, between the music of Africa and that of her transplanted children. There is a new note in the music which had its origin in the Southern plantation, and in this new note the sorrow and the sufferings which came from serving in a strange land found expression.<sup>37</sup>

The well springs of a new religious experience for the African in America may be clearly seen in the development of his song. This one medium of the slave's expression can lead us to the source of the slave's first contact with Protestantism.

The African's religion was ultimately to undergo some

modification after his first contact with the Protestant Christian. What these modifications were may be seen in the following chapters.

Our essential point in this chapter has been to show that the Negro Community developed out of the institution of slavery. Characteristics of this community development may be seen: 1) The Negro status as a slave became sharply defined as his population increased among the whites in the colonies; 2) The problem of miscegenation between white and black was slowed down by legal action preventing the rise of a mulatto class. These laws identified the mulatto class the same as that of the Negro slave preventing the rise of a buffer class which has been so noticeable among the Latins of South America; 3) The gradual decreasing of white indentured servants left the slave at the bottom of the labor scale which made the poor whites unwilling to identify themselves with the Negro's work. The poor whites began to look down upon the slave as laborers; 4) The African's religion made it difficult to be assimilated in the white community.

These four factors were signs of the beginnings of the Negro Community in America. By Negro Community, I mean: an area of common life which is distinguished from further areas of American life by the physical, biological, economical, religious, and social characteristics which the Negro slave developed by his being forced to live by himself.

May it be said here, that as the Negro Community developed the Protestant Community came to his aid and shared with him a spiritual life which enabled the Negro to move out of his small community into the larger areas of America's historic life. A discussion of this point will follow in a later chapter.

## CHAPTER II

PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONAL  
APPROACHES TO THE NEGRO COMMUNITY*A. Ideological Attitudes Toward Slavery Before the  
Revolutionary War.*

Students of both secular and religious American history support the statement that Protestantism is America's only national religion.<sup>1</sup> There is need, therefore, for a study of the early Protestant Denominational approaches toward the Negro in America. Early Protestant settlers in this country came from the great religious culture of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Reformation. Evidences of both their religious and economical background may be seen in their attitudes toward the Negro slave.

Feudalism as an economic institution in Europe was slowly dying away. Hans Luther, the father of the Oak of Saxony, was of the first generation to break away from this mould.<sup>2</sup> There were still memories of feudalism in the minds of the early colonists. As the slave population increased their tendency to justify slavery by the old patterns of feudalism increased.<sup>3</sup>

The colonists also brought with them a religious heritage that made it unlawful for Christians to make slaves out of other Christians. Christians were, however, allowed to make slaves out of barbarians, infidels, and Mohammedans.<sup>4</sup> A similar belief was prevalent among the colonists that heathens and barbarians were outside the

pale of civil and spiritual rights, hence their souls were condemned to eternal perdition. Other colonists who were profiting by the slave trade found it easy to justify their consciences in believing that the enslavement of the Negro was an act of mercy — because only through slavery could large numbers be brought to Christ.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth, Queen of England, had previously justified the trips of Sir John Hawkins by this proposition.<sup>6</sup>

Many troublesome questions were raised by the religious sanction for slavery among the early colonists. Would the conversion and baptism of the Negro slave make it necessary to free him as a Christian duty? After conversion should the Negro be granted the same privileges of membership as any other member of the Christian state?<sup>7</sup>

The colonists addressed themselves to the first question. European countries such as Spain and Portugal furnished a precedent to the colonies for they had held Mohammedans as slaves after they had been Christianized.<sup>8</sup> The French held slaves but in their Code Noir 168 made it binding upon a slave master to see that his slaves were instructed in the doctrine of the Church and baptized in faith. But when the colonists turned to their mother country, England, they found the precedent different. Several court decisions were handed down favoring freeing Negro slaves after they had been baptized and domiciled.<sup>10</sup> Many American colonists were impressed by the notion that under English law a slave might claim his freedom. Conscientious slave masters in the colonies rapidly faced America's first dilemma: to deny conversion and baptism to the slaves would retard Christianization; to favor it might mean the loss of their property. To avoid this dilemma the colonists made a

compromise with their consciences. Some of the colonial assemblies altered the religious sanction of slavery and based it on race. Baptism and conversion were no longer a means for enfranchisement; all slaves must serve for life. Yet, at the same time, all masters were called upon to work toward the conversion of all their slaves to the Christian religion.

Between the years 1664 and 1706, six colonies, Maryland, 1664, 1671;<sup>11</sup> Virginia, 1667, 1670;<sup>12</sup> 1705, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, and New Jersey passed acts affirming the principle that freedom did not result from Christian baptism.<sup>13</sup> Georgia, Pennsylvania and Delaware and the New England Colonies did not pass any laws of this nature.<sup>14</sup> This point is clear; that the colonies with the largest slave population, such as South Carolina and Virginia, while still continuing efforts to convert their slaves, left no doubt respecting the fact that conversion did not mean enfranchisement.

The colonists had compromised with their consciences as well as their pocketbooks. Negroes were allowed to be converted but compelled to live in a state of bondage. The colonists satisfied themselves in believing that the bringing of a large number of slaves to this Christian environment made it probable that a large number of them would be converted to Christianity.

Another official source which contributed to the ideological attitudes of the early Protestant Community came from the official governmental bodies of England. Instructions as early as Dec. 1, 1660 were given by the King to the Council for Foreign Plantations:

You are to consider how such of the natives of such as are purchased by you from the other parts to

be servants or slaves may be best invited to the Christian Faith, and be made capable of being baptized there unto, it being to the honor of our Crowne and of the Protestant Religion that all persons in any of our Dominions should be taught the knowlege of God, and be made acquainted with the ministers of Salvation.<sup>15</sup>

Many governors of the colonies frequently urged religious efforts in behalf of the slaves in their colonies. An illustration of this may be seen in Governor Dorgan of New York addressing the colony: "You are also with the assistance of Our Council to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion."<sup>16</sup> Culpeper, governor of Virginia, (1662), inquired concerning the best means of facilitating the conversion of slaves. He was concerned however, in making it clear that he did not want to destroy the property of the slave master or render less stable the safety of the colony.<sup>17</sup> Other governors also sought in many ways to pass legislation to secure means of converting the slaves. A communication from the governor Council of Maryland lends validity to this point. In a statement dated March 18, 1698-99, the Council found that some of the citizens were hindering their Indian and Negro slaves from attending church even though they were baptized. The Council advised a law be recommended to the assembly to remedy this evil.<sup>18</sup> Other acts were passed in different colonies to further the conversion of Negroes and to prevent their masters from working them on Sunday and preventing their attendance at the church services.

A study of the Protestant Denominational approaches

toward the Negro may be better described against the above ideological attitudes which existed in the English colonies. An early advocate for the churches to engage in some concrete Christian action toward the Negro slaves was Morgan Godwyn. Addressing himself to "The Most Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine Providence, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, his Grace; of all England Primate and Metropolitan, and one of his Sacred Majesties most Honourable Privy Council," he requested three things:

1. That the Negro (both slave and others), have naturally an equal Right with other men to the exercises and privileges of Religion; of which is most unjust to deprive them.

2. That the profession of Christianity was absolutely obliging to the promoting of it no difficulties nor inconveniences, however great, forever can excuse the neglect much less the hindering or opposing of it, which is in effect no better than a renunciation of the profession.

3. That the inconveniences here pretended for this neglect being examined, will be found nothing such, but rather contrary.<sup>19</sup>

Godwyn gives us some historical insight into the fact that the state of religion in the plantation was very low. With the introduction of slaves in large numbers, pressing problems in the economic, political and social realms arose, which increased the opposition of the slave masters to religion and to the conversion of their slaves.

The religious denominations began to act both officially as denominations and through their related voluntary associations. Indications of this follow.

The Church of England stands first in importance in working with the slave populations. From 1679 the Bishop of London took active interest in the religious state of the colonies.<sup>20</sup> In 1689, Rev. James Blair was appointed commissary for Virginia,<sup>21</sup> and in 1696, Rev. Thomas Bray was appointed commissary for Maryland.<sup>22</sup> The former urged the House of Burgesses to commit themselves to a law proposing "the encouragement of the Christian Education of our Negro and Indian Children." The latter in 1701 succeeded in procuring a charter for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which contributed more than any other single agency in furthering the conversion of the Negro.<sup>23</sup> The Bishop of London made inquiries as to the conversion of the Negro and was able to stimulate action with a more acute knowledge of the problems of this country.<sup>24</sup> From 1702 to 1785 this society sent to the American colonies numerous missionaries, catechists, and school masters with instructions to promote the conversion of the Negro slaves.<sup>25</sup> In addition the society collected and distributed sermons, catechisms, and other literature to aid in the work. In the year 1741 contributions raised by this society for the work were over two thousand pounds.<sup>26</sup> The records of this society are quite revealing of its noble work among the Negroes and Indian slaves.

Closely associated with this noble work were other agencies founded by Dr. Bray.<sup>27</sup> Schools were opened for Negroes in Philadelphia in 1758, and in 1760 similar schools were established in New York, Newport, Rhode Island and Williamsburg, Virginia, all of which were in operation up to 1775.<sup>28</sup> Two other societies sponsored by the Church of England, namely, the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, which maintained mis-

sionaries to the Salzburgers in Georgia (1738-1776), helping the Salzburgers in conversion of slaves.<sup>29</sup>

These movements were of the associational life which was connected with the Church of England. The Church of England proper was less interested in slavery than its associational connections. There is little evidence where they denied their slave owners to hold slaves and the Church compromised and took the position that there is no inconsistency between Christianity and slavery. The Bishop of London declared in 1727, that Christianity did not make the "least Alteration in Civil Property; that the Freedom from the bondage of sin and Satan, and from the Dominion of those Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires;" but as to their outward condition they remained as before even after baptism.<sup>30</sup> Historical evidence leads to the conclusion that the Church of England accommodated itself to the institution of slavery.<sup>31</sup> The Church's approaches toward the Negro were made largely through its associational life.<sup>32</sup>

*The Quaker* approach toward slavery may be divided into three periods: first, the period in which they sought to abolish the slave trade among their own members; second, the period in which they sought to abolish the slave trade; third, the period in which they endeavored to improve all slaves for emancipation.

The Quakers in America inherited an attitude against slavery from the founder, George Fox, and his co-worker, William Edmundson. Fox, in 1671, and Edmundson, in 1675, bore public testimony against the evils of slavery.<sup>33</sup>

The earliest approaches toward slavery by the Quakers in America were made in 1688<sup>34</sup> by the Quakers at Germantown, Pennsylvania, and in 1696<sup>35</sup> by the Yearly meeting at Philadelphia. Statements gathered from the

records of these meetings are largely interested in preventing Quakers from participating in the slave trade as well as presenting the need for the Christian education of the slaves which their constituents already owned.<sup>36</sup>

The second period of developing slave approaches in the colony indicates an attempt to abolish the slave trade. This attempt can be seen in the early eighteenth century writings of John Woolman, noted Quaker anti-slavery writer and agitator.

The Color of a man avails nothing, in matters of right and equity. Consider color in relation to treatise; by such discipline betwixt nations or sometimes settled, and should the Father of us all so dispose things, that treaties with black men should sometime be necessary, how then would it appear amongst the princes and ambassadors, to insist upon the prerogatives of the white color?<sup>37</sup>

Woolman travelled throughout the nation, much of the time on foot, in behalf of abolishing the slave trade.

The third period of the Quaker approaches to slavery was made in the period just prior to the American Revolution. Severe measures were adopted by the Quakers to disown members who continued in the slave-trade or continued to own slaves.<sup>38</sup> Renewed emphasis in preparing the slave for his emancipation was accelerated under the great educational leadership of Anthony Benezet.<sup>39</sup> The records of history cannot fully record the great service which this man performed in the field of educating the Negro slaves. Benezet wrote in the public journals, in the almanacs, and labored diligently to convince people of the unlawfulness of slavery. May it be said that there was a

great deal of accommodation among the individual Quakers to the institution of slavery but the records of the denomination is most explicit against this accommodation.<sup>40</sup>

*The Puritans and Congregationalists.*

The lack of any general representative body or head makes it very difficult to describe the approaches made by the Puritans and Congregationalists of New England. Each church had the right to determine for itself and for its members the attitude to be held toward the slaves. The investigator can find little effort made to Christianize the Negro slave population. There are, however, evidences that the New England mind was less sensitive to the problems of slavery because Negro slaves were largely used as domestic servants.

John Eliot, "The Apostle to the Indians" and one of the authors of the *Bay Psalm Book*, "lamented the fact:"

That Negroes were used as if they were horses or oxen, and considered it a prodigy that any wearing the name of Christians, should have so much the heart of the Devil in them, as to prevent and hinder the Instruction of the Poor Black Moors, and confine the souls of the miserable slaves to a destroying ignorance, for fear of merely losing their Vassalage.<sup>41</sup>

Eliot is to be remembered for his work among the American Indians. He became an authority on Indian dialect and translated the Bible and other works into the Indian tongue. The "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England" supported the work which had been initiated by John Eliot among the Indians.<sup>42</sup> In his later

life, Eliot offered to meet the slaves once a week for instruction in home but died before he could realize his efforts.

Cotton Mather's views on slavery were practically the same as those of Eliot. In 1706 he wrote "The Negro Christianized" and another essay "On Doing Good in Our Domestic Relations" which clearly expounds his thoughts on the subject. A quotation from "On Doing Good in our Domestic Relations" seems fitting: "What if they should be the elect of God, fetched from Africa and the Indies that by means of their situation they may be brought home to the Shepherd of Souls."<sup>43</sup>

A few churches spurred by their leaders took action against slavery. Dr. Samuel Hopkins, a celebrated theologian, aroused his slave-holding and trading congregation in Newport, Rhode Island, to take action against slavery<sup>44</sup> about 1769.

There is little evidence to believe that the Congregationalists did much in the period before the Revolutionary War in behalf of slavery. Some interest was shown in the conversion of slaves to the Christian religion but this was left up to the discretion of the masters and the individual ministers.

### *Presbyterians.*

The year 1698 marks the beginning of the first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia. A Presbytery was formed in 1705 and until the year 1758 there was no united synod in America. The Presbyterians did not question the rights of their members to hold slaves. It was not until 1774<sup>45</sup> that any action was taken toward the emancipation of slaves. Individual clergymen like Samuel Davies made efforts to Christianize the slaves.<sup>46</sup>

The Wesleyan Methodist approaches toward slavery have a very interesting beginning in this country. That Wesley was bitterly opposed to the institution of slavery is a matter of history.<sup>47</sup> History, however, reveals that Whitefield, a close companion of Wesley, was very much pro-slavery in his attitudes. Whitefield pleaded with the Georgia trustees in 1751, considering himself highly favored if he could "purchase a good number of them, to make their lives comfortable, and lay a foundation for breeding up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."<sup>48</sup>

There is a question of priority as to when Methodism began in America. The author stands with those who, through historical evidence set the beginnings of Methodism in New York City.<sup>49</sup> By the year 1766 Methodism was represented in Maryland and New York. No mention of slavery is revealed in the records of its first conference in Philadelphia in 1773 held by Francis Asbury under Wesley's authority. A great many of the approaches made toward slavery were by individual clergymen during this period.<sup>50</sup> It is interesting that Asbury writes in his Journal, June 23, 1776, "after preaching . . . I met the class, and then met the black people, some of whose unhappy masters forbid them coming for religious instruction."<sup>51</sup>

Atkinson records that a group of Negroes were worshipping in the "Old Rigging Loft" and in John's Street Church.<sup>52</sup> Peter Williams, a Negro, records his experiences listening to Captain Webb in the Rigging Loft as well as the efforts of the early slaves who contributed money to the Methodist's first meeting house.<sup>53</sup>

The approaches made by the early Baptists toward the Negro slave were small owing to the comparatively few

Baptists that were in America before the Revolution. We have evidence that a Baptist church in Virginia, in 1758-1759, had admitted them as members.<sup>54</sup> There is evidence that the New Light Baptists were very numerous in the South and worked with the Negroes on the plantations.<sup>55</sup>

The Lutherans are best known in the period by the work of the Salzburger who worked in Georgia. At first they were vigorous opponents of slavery,<sup>56</sup> but owing to the need of laborers, their pastor, Boltizius, yielded on the ground that they be given religious advantages. Boltizius was interested in buying a number of slave children and placing them in the hands of trusty Salzburger for religious instruction. Heinrich Muhlenberg also endeavored to give the slaves in Pennsylvania religious instruction.<sup>57</sup>

The approaches of the Protestant Denominations in the period before the Revolution were generally accommodating to the institution of slavery. They were willing to baptize and admit them into their churches but only the Quakers could see the inconsistency in Christian church members holding slaves. Before the American Revolution the general position of the Protestant Community was to convert and baptize their slaves but not to work for their emancipation.

#### *B. Adaptations Made by the American Revolution.*

The American Revolution gave an impetus to the popularization of the natural rights philosophy, deism, humanitarianism and democratic conception of culture. This impetus is significant and bears mentioning as it relates to the problem of slavery. The argument against slavery tended to be based more on the natural inalienable rights of all men.<sup>58</sup> In 1764 James Otis contended that by the

law of nature, all men, whether white or black, were born free; and inquired whether any logical inference in favor of slavery could be shown from a flat nose and a long or short face.<sup>59</sup> In 1775, Thomas Paine argued that Africans had a "natural and perfect right to freedom . . ."<sup>60</sup> Enos Hitchcock<sup>61</sup> and Jonathan Edwards<sup>62</sup> the younger contended in the same vein that no one had any right to deprive the slaves of their natural freedom.

The moral and religious argument became very strong against slavery. Jefferson, thinking of the moral evil of slavery, wrote the now famous statement, "Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just and that His justice cannot sleep forever."<sup>63</sup> Benjamin Franklin,<sup>64</sup> Sarah Wentworth Morton,<sup>65</sup> Timothy Dwight,<sup>66</sup> and many others took part in the moral and religious arguments against slavery.

Adaptations by the Revolution are seen in the legislative acts of the young government. From 1783-1789 humanitarian sentiments against slavery may be found in the legislative acts as well as in the expressions of the men who composed its body, of whom some have already been mentioned. The author considers an investigation of these acts out of the scope of this study. May it be said that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was one of the most important legislative acts passed against slavery during this period.<sup>67</sup>

Abolition societies began to lift their heads in the national life. In Philadelphia in 1775, "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage" re-organized 1787 as an Abolition Society as well as for the Relief of free Negroes and became the first of its kind in America. Similar societies were formed in New York, 1785; Maryland, 1790; Virginia, 1791; New Jersey,

1792; Delaware, 1794; and Connecticut in 1791. These societies largely engaged in petitioning the new government to expel the evils of slavery from the land. In a later chapter a full discussion will be devoted to the strong anti-slavery sentiments which these societies developed in the Protestant Community.<sup>68</sup>

The changes in approaches toward the Negro by the major denominations are significant in this period. The Methodist Societies in 1780, and the Methodist Church in 1785 began to use strong language in their doctrines against slavery. The Presbyterians in 1794 adjusted a note in their later Catechism, in the Confession of Faith against man stealing. The Baptists of Virginia in 1788 and 1789, in a meeting of the General Committee formed expressions against slavery.<sup>69</sup> These changes are significant for the church historian because they mark for the first time the major Protestant denomination interest in slavery from a standpoint of church policy.

Two sects must now be mentioned as a development in American Protestant Community.

John Murray organized a Congregation in Gloucester, Massachusetts and Charles Chauncey, a New England theologian, in 1779 early anticipated the central doctrines of Universalism. The sect was formally organized in 1794 under the leadership of Hosea Ballou. The Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and the possibility of universal salvation by character became its main doctrines.<sup>70</sup>

Unitarianism lifted its head when John Freeman and the King's Chapel Church in Boston formally took this position in 1783-1784. The appointment of Henry Ware as Hollis professor at Harvard (1805) showed signs of Unitarianism becoming a Spiritual force in New England. It

is, however, in a later period when its great champion of human freedom, William Ellery Channing, is to attack evils of slavery. The spell of the Enlightenment is indicative in the convictions that human nature is divine and that man is therefore too good to be damned.<sup>71</sup>

The author proposes to study the Negro response to these Protestant denominational approaches in the following chapter. It is, however, important that the Negro's response be seen in the light of the historical approaches the author has tried to develop in this chapter.

## CHAPTER III

RELIGION IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY  
BEFORE 1800

A history of religion in the Negro Community before 1800 is but a continuing history of the Protestant denominational approaches which were accepted and responded to by the Negro converts. The types of religious approaches made by the various denominational bodies largely determined the religious expression of the Negro Community. Before continuing our description of the Negro's response to the Protestant denominational approaches, let us consider the hindrances under which these responses were made.

*A. General Hindrances.*

General hindrances which presented obstacles in the way of the Negro's religious expressions were: 1) The Negro's insufficient knowledge of the English language;<sup>1</sup> 2) The Negro's hesitancy to give up his African rites for the religion of Jesus; 3) The physical and social environs of the plantation which promoted unhealthy life situations for character development;<sup>3</sup> 4) Insufficient number of Protestant missionaries and the large physical areas which they had to cover;<sup>4</sup> 5) The hostility of the white community toward the white man who showed any type of Christian sympathy for the Negro;<sup>5</sup> 6) In some localities Negroes were forbidden to hold any type of assem-

blies.<sup>6</sup> These general hindrances retarded the progress of the Protestant missionaries in their efforts to Christianize the Negro, and also hindered the religious expression of the Negro Community.

### *B. Specific Hindrances.*

The economic hindrance presented the first great hindrance in the way of the religious expression of the Negro Community. There was a tendency for the slave masters to believe that a religious Negro would decrease in economic value. Morgan Godwyn, describing economic conditions on the plantations in 1680, writes: "that men in these days recognize no other God but money, nor Religion but profit."<sup>7</sup> The principal reason given was that the cost of maintenance would rise if the Negro was given a day off for religious services. The slave-masters were not willing to obligate themselves for the cost of a work day in a seven day week, in order that the Negro may have some form of religious expression.<sup>8</sup>

A more serious objection in the path of the Negro's religious expression was the belief that Christian conversion would change the character of the Negro. There was a danger that Christianity would instill in the minds of the Negroes notions of equality with their slave-masters. It was alleged that these notions would make the Negroes haughty and dissatisfied, increasing the danger of their running away as well as the danger of Negro insurrections.<sup>9</sup>

A third objection to religious expression for the Negro was based on social grounds. The Negro imported from Africa was regarded as a savage, akin to the apes of the forest, without the mental capacity or cultural background to mix with the masters on terms of equality in the

church services.<sup>10</sup> Keeping these facts in mind, the author will proceed to describe religion in the Negro Community before 1800.

Before 1800 there are no historical evidences which would lead one to the position that a Negro Community within American Protestantism existed. Historic evidence leads the author to the position that the Negro Community within Protestantism is a nineteenth century development. The author's position will be more fully discussed as the period is described.

### *C. Organizational Life; General Situation.*

The religious life in the Negro Community generally revolved around the white minister and his congregation. However, Negro local preachers were sometimes invited by the white minister to tend to the spiritual needs of their own people. There are other instances where traveling white ministers invited the aid of some Negro preachers in caring for the spiritual needs of the white group. There are not infrequent instances where Negro preachers served white congregations. Generally speaking — the Negro participated in the religious life of the Protestant Community and shared in its enthusiasm for brotherhood.

### *D. Specific Instances.*

The author has already spoken of the great zeal which the Anglicans and Quakers showed in the early Protestant denominational approaches toward the Negro. Our task is now to show the Negro's participation in these two denominations.

*Church of England.* That there was no segregation in the churches before 1800 can be clearly seen in the life of

the Church of England. By 1705 the Rev. Samuel Thomas of Goose Creek Parish reported 20 black communicants in his parish.<sup>11</sup> "When these blacks approached the communion table, however, some white persons seriously objected, inquiring whether it was possible for slaves to go to heaven anyway. But having the cooperation of a number of liberal slave-holders in that section and working with Mrs. Haig, Mrs. Edwards, and the Rev. E. Taylor, who baptized a number of them, the missionaries in that colony prepared the way for the Christianization of the Negro slaves."<sup>12</sup> The Rev. Thomas Bacon and Rev. Jonathan Boucher of the Anglican Church in 1750, reported missionary success among the Negro members of their congregations, and were happy that so many could attain the spiritual life.<sup>13</sup> Mr. Hesell of St. Thomas Parish in 1724 reported 12 Negroes baptized sharing in the work of the church.<sup>14</sup> These illustrations point to the fact that the Anglican Church brought Negroes into full membership in the church.

May it be said, that the work of the Anglicans among the Negroes never achieved noteworthy response. There was a tendency for the Anglican missionaries to lay stress on ability to say the Church's creed, repeat the ten commandments or the catechism as the main test for admission to the church. The Priest was responsible for the total religious life of the church. These two factors made it difficult for the Negro with limited chances for mental development to respond freely to the Church of England's approaches.

*The Quakers.* The Quakers generally found themselves in the same position as the Church of England. The response of the Negro Community to the simple forms and ceremonies of the Quakers was almost negligible. The un-

developed intellect of the Negro was not able to conceive of the mysteries of religion wrapped up in so simple a formula.

The response of the Negro Community was more favorably directed toward the more evangelical denominations. These were the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. The evangelical appeals of these denominations were better understood by the Negro's untutored mind. A description of the Negro's participation in these denominations seems necessary at this point.

*The Methodists.* Bishop Asbury recorded in his Journal of November 18, 1771, after a meeting in John's Street Church, New York: "To see the poor Negroes so affected is pleasing. To see their sable countenances in the solemn assemblies, and to hear them sing with cheerful melody their Redeemer's praise, affected me much and made me ready to say, of a truth I perceive God is no respecter of persons."<sup>15</sup> Again in 1772 Asbury speaks of administering the Lord's Supper in John Street: "At the table I was greatly affected with the sight of the Negroes, seeing their sable faces at the table of the Lord."<sup>16</sup> These recorded sayings of Asbury reveal the attendance of Negro worshippers in the early Methodist Society of John Street Church.

J. B. Wakeley in his "Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early Chapters of American Methodism" has preserved the names and deeds of Negro members of the John Street Church. These Negroes not only participated in the church's service but added their financial gifts for the on-going of the church.

Important among this list preserved by Wakeley are the names of Peter and Molly Williams — husband and wife. Molly served as caretaker of the parsonage and

Peter acted as sexton of the church. Both were very fond of the Methodist preachers. Peter's favorite preacher was Captain Webb of the "Rigging Loft."<sup>17</sup>

The early life of the Rev. Richard Allen provides us with additional insight as to the Negro's religious life among the Methodists. Allen was born a slave to Mr. Benjamin Chew of Philadelphia, in the year 1760. Seeking salvation for his sins, Allen joined the Methodist Society, and met in the class of Benjamin Wells in the forest, Delaware State. John Greg was the class leader.<sup>18</sup>

Allen and the other Negroes on the plantation of Mr. Chew soon proved that the Christian religion made them better workers. Mr. Chew often bragged about the industry of his Negroes as compared with the other plantation owners.<sup>19</sup>

In the course of time, Allen and some of the other Negroes invited, with their master's consent, Freeborn Garretson to preach on the plantation. Mr. Garretson preached from these words: "Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting." Mr. Chew, his master, was converted, and afterward thought it wrong to hold slaves. Allen and his brothers were offered a chance to buy their freedom.<sup>20</sup>

Accepting this opportunity to buy their freedom Allen and his brother went to Wilmington, Delaware. There they came in contact with Benjamin Abbott, a great preacher. Abbott helped Allen to secure a job as a wood cutter for Captain Cruenkleton. During this time Allen preached the gospel at nights and on Sundays among the Negroes.<sup>21</sup>

In 1784 Allen journeyed through the State of Pennsylvania living with Ceasar Waters and Radnor Township and met with them in their Methodist societies.

In December of 1784, Allen was present at the General Conference of Methodism in Baltimore. Dr. Coke, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vassey had just arrived from England.<sup>22</sup> It is of interest to note Allen's reaction to the wearing of gowns by Bishops Brown, Turner, Campbell and Cain:

It is said it adds to their dignity. True dignity is found only in character, not in office. Did the God-man dignify himself with white surplices and black silk gowns? No mere man ever lived who was greater than the Apostle Paul. Did he attempt to increase his dignity by a surplice or a silk gown? The dignity of an individual lies in a spotless life. The dignity of an officer, civil, political, or ecclesiastical lies in his qualification for the office which he has been called to fill. These qualifications must be in his head, his heart, and his will; not in his dress, which for gentility's sake he must wear; nor in white or silk robes, which for vanity's sake he need not wear. There was a pamphlet published by some persons which stated that when Methodists were no people they were a people, and now they have become a people, they were no people, which had often serious weight upon my mind."<sup>23</sup>

Elsewhere in his early life, Allen speaks of meeting with the Negroes who were members of the St. George Church at Philadelphia. "February, 1786 — Preaching was given out for me in the morning at five o'clock, in St. George's Church. I strove to preach as well as I could, but it was a great cross for me, but the Lord was with me. I soon saw a large field open in seeking and instructing my Afri-

can brethren, who had been a long forgotten people, and few of them attended public worship."<sup>24</sup> Allen specifically mentions the Reverends Absalom Jones, William White, and Darius Jennings as belonging to St. George Church.<sup>25</sup>

Richard Allen was quite aware of the influence which the Methodists exercised over the colored people. In a statement he says: "I am confident there was no religious sect or denomination that would suit the capacity of the colored people as well as that of the Methodists, for the plain and simple Gospel suits best for any people, for the unlearned can understand, and the learned are sure to understand; and the reason that the Methodist is so successful in the awakening and conversion of the colored people is the plain doctrine and having good discipline."<sup>26</sup>

In 1786, Richard Allen, under the supervision of St. George Church, organized a group of forty-two Negroes and formed them into a society to take care of their spiritual needs. Allen was always sensitive to the spiritual needs of his people and sought opportunities to preach to them wherever possible.

Bishop Asbury invited Richard Allen to travel with him in the year 1785. "He told me that in slave countries, Carolina and other places, I must not intermix with the slaves, I would frequently have to sleep in his carriage, and he would allow me my victuals and clothes."<sup>27</sup> Allen refused to travel with Bishop Asbury under these conditions. The historian, however, does get some insight about some of the conditions under which the Negro preachers travelled with the white preachers in slave countries.

Among the Negro preachers who travelled with the white missionaries, none are more famous than Harry Hoosier, nicknamed "Black Harry." Travelling with Bishop Asbury, Harry learned to speak from the scrip-

tures more forcefully than Asbury himself.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia pronounced him the "greatest orator in America." "Black Harry" could neither read nor write. His power to memorize was very great, so much so, that he would memorize the sermons of Bishop Asbury and preach them as his own words. Desiring Harry to accompany him in 1782, Bishop Asbury made the request, saying "that the way to have a large congregation present was to announce Black Harry was to preach, as more would come to hear Harry than to hear Asbury."

On one occasion in Wilmington, Delaware, where the cause of the Methodist was unpopular, a large number of persons came out of curiosity to hear Bishop Asbury. But as the auditorium was already taxed to its capacity, they could only hear from the outside. At the conclusions of the exercises, they said without seeing the speaker; "If all Methodist preachers can preach like the Bishop, we should like to be constant listeners." Someone replied, "That was not the Bishop, but the Bishop's servant that you heard." The inquirers concluded, "If such be the servant, what could the master be?"<sup>29</sup>

The truth was, says John Ledman in his "History of Methodism in America," "That Harry was a more popular preacher than Mr. Asbury or anyone else in his day." In this same capacity Harry preached with Garretson, Whatcoat, and Dr. Coke.<sup>30</sup>

Important among the list of early Negro Methodist preachers is the name of Henry Evans. Evans was a free Negro of Virginia, a shoemaker by trade. While on a trip

to Fayetteville, North Carolina, Evans was licensed as a local preacher in the Methodist Church. Tarrying in this city, Evans began to work among his own people. His popularity was of such that the town council ordered him to stop preaching. This action by the council did not stop the popularity nor the work of this Negro preacher. By holding secret meetings, Evans soon developed a large following not only among Negroes but among the whites as well. The white followers of Evans erected a church in 1790 and invited Evans to be associate pastor of the church. Evans lived in the edifice and ministered to the people until his death in 1810. This is one of the earlier records where Negro preachers served a white congregation.<sup>31</sup>

The total number of members in the Methodist denomination in 1799 is given as 61,351. One-fifth of this number were Negroes.<sup>32</sup> The records of the New England Conference throw some light on the steady increase of Negroes among the Methodists of this period:

1786	-----	33	colored
1787	-----	54	colored
1788	-----	66	colored
1789	-----	88	colored
1790	-----	117	colored
1791	-----	151	colored
1792	-----	179	colored
1793	-----	190	colored
1794	-----	194	colored
1795	-----	224	colored
1796	-----	197	colored
1797	-----	219	colored
1798	-----	268	colored
1799	-----	294	colored <sup>33</sup>

The testimony of the Methodists against slavery and its zeal to exclude slave-masters from membership attracted Negroes to its membership.

*The Baptists.* The freedom and local democracy of the Baptist Church enabled the Negro to participate in the affairs of the church to a greater degree than most denominations. Members of both races in many instances belonged to the same congregations.<sup>34</sup> Especially is this true of the period which we are now describing. Negro pioneer preachers and churches of the period before 1800 are illustrative of the response which the Negro Community made toward the Baptist approach.

The earliest response of the Negro Community toward the Baptist Church is that which took place at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, between the years 1773 and 1775. A white Baptist preacher, a Mr. Palmer, founded a Baptist church among the Negroes of Mr. George Galphin's plantation.<sup>35</sup>

Walter H. Brooks records the following facts about this church. "Brother Palmer, who was pastor at some distance from Silver Bluff came and preached to a large congregation at a mill of Mr. Galphin, and he was a very powerful preacher . . . Brother Palmer came again and wished us to beg the master to let him preach to us; and he came frequently . . . There were eight of us now, who had found the great blessing and mercy from the Lord, and my wife was one of them, and Brother Jesse Galphin . . . Brother Palmer appointed Saturday evening to hear what the Lord had done for us, and next day, he baptized us in the mill stream . . . Brother Palmer found us into a church and gave us the Lord's Supper at Silver Bluff."<sup>36</sup>

Through the kindness of George Galphin, the owner

of the plantation, David George, a Negro, was ordained to carry on the work of the Silver Bluff Church.

During the year 1778, the British forced the American Army to evacuate Savannah, Georgia. George Galphin, a patriot, fled from his plantation to safety. David George and fifty other Negroes went over to the British in Savannah and soon afterward were given their freedom. In 1782 David George went to Nova Scotia, where he preached to Baptist congregations at Shelburn, Birchtown, Ragged Island and in St. John, New Brunswick. In 1792 David George took some of the Negroes to Sierra Leone where they formed a colony and organized a Baptist Church.<sup>37</sup>

The Rev. Jesse Peter carried forward the work which David George had left in Silver Bluff, Carolina. In 1782 he was known for his missionary work, carrying the gospel to the plantations as far as Savannah, Georgia.<sup>38</sup>

The work of George Liele and Andrew Bryan cast further light on the Negro response to the Baptist denomination.

George Liele was born in the year 1750 in Virginia and moved with his master, Matthew Moore, to Burke County, Georgia. Liele attended the Baptist church of which his master, Matthew Moore, was a deacon. Liele was converted and discovered soon that he had a gift for preaching. Encouraged by his master, Matthew Moore, Liele preached on the plantations of Brompton, Savannah, and Yamacraw.<sup>39</sup> His audiences were composed of both white and black congregations. Matthew Moore was killed in the Revolutionary War. Liele feared enslavement by the heirs of the plantation and fled to Jamaica to continue his ministry. Before leaving Savannah, Liele baptized Andrew Bryan, his wife, Hannah, Kate Hagg,

and Hagar Simpson, founders of the First Baptist Church in Savannah.

The First Baptist Church became one of the most important churches in Georgia. It was through great hardships that this church was established. The story of the life of Andrew Bryan, one of its founders, gives us some indications of this struggle.

Andrew Bryan was born a slave at Goose Creek, South Carolina, in the year 1737. After his conversion under the preaching of George Liele, Bryan began to preach in the regions of Savannah, Georgia. Later, Andrew Bryan erected at Yamacraw, on the land of Mr. Edward Davis, a wooden building for his preaching services. Fearing that Bryan's influence might cause an insurrection among the slaves, the citizens began to oppose his meetings. The wooden structure was taken away from him and he was forbidden to preach. This did not discourage Bryan and his adherents. Taking to the swamps they continued their meetings at the risk of severe discipline from the slave-masters.

Rev. Thomas Burke in 1785, and Rev. Abraham Marshall of Kioke in 1788, recognized Bryan's work and built a church ordaining Bryan as its minister. This action tended to increase the anger of the slave-masters. Bryan's meetings were watched with extreme caution. Armed patrols were organized to keep the Negroes away from the meetings. This form of repression ended ultimately in the punishment of Andrew Bryan, Sampson Bryan, his brother, and one of the deacons of the church.<sup>40</sup>

The Justices of the Inferior Court of Chatham County, Henry Osborne, James Haversham, and James Montague, investigated the work of Andrew Bryan and his com-

panions. After careful investigation, Bryan and his companions were found not guilty of criminal intent. Encouraged by many new friends, Bryan continued his work and erected in 1794 the First African Baptist Church. The Savannah Association adopted the following minute in 1812 on the death of the Rev. Andrew Bryan: "The Association is sensibly affected by the death of the Rev. Andrew Bryan, a man of color, and pastor of the First Colored Church in Savannah. This son of Africa, after suffering inexpressible persecutions in the cause of his divine master was at length permitted to discharge the duties of the ministry among his friends in peace and quiet, hundreds of whom, through his instrumentality, were brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. He closed his extensively useful and amazingly luminous course in the lively exercise of faith, and in the joyful hope of a happy immortality."<sup>41</sup>

The membership of the First African Baptist Church grew too large to be adequately served. This led to the organization of a Second Baptist Church of Savannah, with Henry Francis, a slave of Colonel Leroy Hamilton, as pastor. A third African Baptist Church also grew out of the membership of the First Baptist Church.<sup>42</sup>

A. H. Newman lists the names of Andrew Marshall of Savannah, and Jacob Walker of Augusta, as being equally eminent and respected as their contemporary, Andrew Bryan.<sup>43</sup>

In Virginia, where the proslavery sentiments were not as clearly developed as in Georgia, the Negro enjoyed a greater degree of freedom in the Baptist denomination. "From 1770 to 1790 Negro preachers, thanks to the pioneer work of a man of color, Rev. Mr. Moses, were in charge of congregations in Charles City, Petersburg, Wil-

liamsburg, some members of which could read and write and keep accounts.”<sup>44</sup>

Under the labor of inspired Negro preachers many white men were baptized, and converted. Such a preacher was Josiah Bishop, pastor of the Baptist Church in Portsmouth, Virginia. Robert B. Semple records how Josiah Bishop was appointed to the church. “After the resignation of Mr. Thomas Armstead, who was pastor of the Portsmouth Church in Virginia until 1792 the church declined greatly. They employed Josiah Bishop, a black man of considerable talents to preach to them.”<sup>45</sup>

Another instance of the same character is related by Mr. Semple, in connection with the Pettsworth or Gloucester Church. In his statement in regard to the death of Rev. Robert Hudgins, their first pastor, he observes that “This church continued to pray moderately until Mr. Hudgin’s death. They were left without any person to go in and out before them. They at length did what had hardly been supposed would have been done by Virginians; they chose for their pastor William Lemon, a man of color.” He also died after several years. Since then remarks Mr. Semple, “they have been destitute of stated ministerial aid.” Here, then is a man of color, who was pastor of a white Baptist Church in Virginia to the day of his death, covering a period of several years.<sup>46</sup>

Another illustration of a Negro Baptist preacher ministering to a white congregation is that of Joseph Willis. In 1798 Joseph Willis, a duly licensed preacher in Southwest Mississippi, was very anxious to exercise his gifts as a preacher. In 1804, Willis crossed the Mississippi River and entered in a work which he was to give fifty years of service. Joseph Willis preached at Vermillion, and Plaquemine Burle for eight years under severe handicaps.

With the aid of several visiting ministers Willis was able to build the First Baptist Church of Bayou Chicot. Other churches were built under his leadership and in 1818 were organized into the Louisiana Baptist Association. Joseph Willis was the first moderator of the Louisiana Baptist Association, and was known as "Father Willis."<sup>47</sup>

"By 1810 . . . a number of large churches had been built up" in the Baptist denomination "by the labors of colored preachers; and most of the white churches had large numbers of colored members."<sup>48</sup>

The Negro's response to the Baptist Denomination was perhaps the largest response to any single American denomination. The Baptists were ready to extend the privileges of ordination to colored preachers. The Baptists' policy of building around the congregation the church's policy was also suited to the Negro Community. The emotionalism of the services also suited the Negro's temperament.

*The Presbyterians.* Samuel Davies and other Presbyterian ministers, 1750-1761, show some response of the Negro Community to the Presbyterian Denomination. Davies reports in 1750, thousands of Negroes converted and baptized in Virginia and one hundred belonging to Presbyterians.<sup>49</sup> The same letter reveals that Davies in one year and a half had baptized four Negroes and admitted seven or eight to full communion.<sup>50</sup>

The Presbyterians welcomed the Negro, but their appeal to the intellect did not attract the untutored mind. Presbyterians were less emotional than the Methodists and Baptists. As Bishop Tanner said:

It strove to lift without coming down and while the good Presbyterian parson was writing his discourses,

rounding off the sentences, the Methodist itinerant had travelled forty miles with his horse and saddle bags; while the parson was adjusting his spectacles to read his manuscript, the itinerant had given hell and damnation to his unrepentant hearers; while the disciple of Calvin was waiting to have his church completed, the disciple of Wesley took to the woods and made them re-echo with the voice of free grace, believing with Bryant, "The groves were God's first temples."<sup>51</sup>

The first Negro to become a minister of the Presbyterian Church was John Chavis. Chavis was born near Oxford, Granville County, North Carolina, about 1763. Many of his white friends were impressed with his unusual abilities and early arranged a scholarship for him at the Washington Academy, now Washington and Lee. Later Chavis studied as a special student with Dr. Witherspoon of Princeton University. In 1801 Chavis was appointed as missionary to the Negroes by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Chavis gained a great reputation for his ability as a preacher and as a scholar in Latin and Greek.<sup>52</sup>

*The Congregationalist.* The Congregational Church before 1800 was largely confined to the New England Colonies. The Negro Community was relatively small in New England. Most of the Negroes were used as domestic servants. There were, however, Negroes on the large farms of Narragansett, and in the Hudson River section of New York. The religious life of the Negro was in most cases directed by the family to which he was bound. Indications of the religious life of the Negro may be found in the life of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes.

Lemuel Haynes was born July 18 1753, at West Hartford, Connecticut.<sup>53</sup> His father was a Negro and his mother a white woman of distinguished ancestry. Lemuel's mother abandoned him in infancy. The Haynes family provided the child with a temporary home until he was bound out to David Rose of Granville, Massachusetts.

David Rose encouraged Lemuel to attend the schools of the community. Rose also encouraged Lemuel to read the Bible, the writings of Doddridge and Watts, and Young's Night Thought.

After the death of David Rose, Lemuel entered the Continental Army and served as a minute man in 1774.

Returning from war, Lemuel developed an interest in agriculture. In his spare time he read the Bible and sermons of some of the best known preachers of his day. Lemuel shared in the devotional exercises around the family table and in the prayers in the home of his former master, David Rose.

Soon Lemuel began to preach before the local congregations his own sermons which he had written. Desiring to preach, Lemuel was encouraged to prepare himself for the task. After studying with Daniel Farrand of Canaan, Connecticut, and William Bradford of Wintonbury, Haynes was invited to join the Congregational Church. In 1780 Haynes was ordained and appointed to his first charge at Middle Granville, Massachusetts. During his pastorate of five years, Haynes married Bessie Babbit, a white woman of considerable education and piety. To this union was born a family of seven children. After a pastorate of five years, Haynes was called to the pastorate of Torrington, Connecticut. "A leading member of the congregation at first objected to a 'nigger minister,' as head

of the congregation." Woodson records the following drama:

The leading citizen was much displeased and to show his lack of respect for the new incumbent this man went into the church and sat with his hat on. He had not preached far, said the man, 'when I thought I saw the whitest man I ever knew in that pulpit, and I tossed my hat under the pew.'<sup>54</sup>

Haynes was later called to the pastorate of West Rutland. His fame as a preacher spread throughout New England. In 1804 he was called to serve the Connecticut Missionary Society which sent him to labor in Vermont.

Haynes was conversant with the great issues of his day. On numerous occasions he debated on the Stoddardian principle, and the issue of the half-way covenant.<sup>55</sup>

Haynes also stood firmly by the principles of George Washington in the advocacy of a strong national government. This latter opinion involved Haynes in bitter conflict with some of his fellow ministers.

In 1822, Haynes returned to New York, and spent the last eleven years of his life in a church at Granville. Such was the labor of one of New England's outstanding Congregational preachers.

#### *E. Types of Worship Found in the Negro Community.*

In the preceding section the author has described the Negro within the organizational life of the American Protestant Community. The results of the contact between the American Protestant Community and the Negro may also be seen in the types of worship the Negro developed. Indications of this follow.

The Old Testament stories of the creation of the Egyptian bondage, and of the journey across the Red Sea; the New Testament emphasis upon the power, death and resurrection of Christ with its apocalyptic imagery, made the Bible the Negroes' most beloved book. The interest of the Negro Community set this book at the center of its worship life around which all other forms revolved. From the Bible, pious preachers found truths which met the spiritual needs of the Negro Community. "An old slave remarks, 'Honey, it 'pears when I read this good book, I shall be nearer to God.'"<sup>56</sup>

The Bible was brought to the Negro Community by Protestant missionaries when they were seeking a technique of survival. Within the pages of the book was enclosed the religion of "compensations in the life to come for the ills suffered in the present existence, the religion which implied the hope that in the next world there would be a reversal of conditions of the rich and poor man, of the proud and meek, of master and slave."<sup>57</sup> One of the results of the contact which the Negro Community made with Christianity was the Negro's vocal adaptation of the gospel, later known as the Negro spiritual. These songs tell in a very definite way what the religious life of the Negro Community was.

'Nothing,' says Washington, 'tells more truly what the Negro's life in slavery was, than the songs in which he succeeded, sometimes, in expressing his deepest thoughts and feeling. What for example, could express more eloquently the feelings of despair which sometimes overtook the slave than these simple and expressive words: O my good Lord! Keep me from sinking down.'<sup>58</sup>

From the historic evidences given to us in these songs, the author will try to recapture from "the silent whispers of the Centuries" the Religion of the Negro Community.

On every plantation there was a leader who called the Negroes to the meeting where the Christian missionary was to preach. In some cases the slave-master was unfriendly to the white minister, and forbade the Negroes to attend the meetings. The Negro leader would disguise his notice to the Negroes that a meeting was to be held thus:

Steal away, Steal away, Steal away,  
to Jesus;  
Steal away, steal away home,  
I ain't got long to stay here.

My lord, He calls me, He calls me by  
the thunder,  
The trumpet sounds within-a my soul,  
I ain't got long to stay here.

Green trees are bending,  
Po sinner stands a tremblin;  
The trumpet sounds within-a my soul,  
I ain't got long to stay here.<sup>59</sup>

Roland Hayes' great grandfather, Charles, gives us some indication as to what the white missionaries preached. Charles landed in America in 1790 and was sold to the Weaver family in Georgia.

Charles came into contact with the doctrines and poetic images of Christianity when Northern mission-

aries came down to Georgia to evangelize the slaves. The apocalyptic religion of the Gospels gave him consolation, just as it had consoled the oppressed in Apostolic days. His spirit fed upon Biblical promise; the Scripture took up their residence at the tip of his tongue.<sup>60</sup>

Charles' own spiritual, *The Crucifixion*, provides the historian with a better understanding of what the white missionaries taught and preached to the Negro slaves. The author thinks the spiritual will recapture for us this great past in our American life. The song follows:

Wasn't it a pity an' a shame  
 An' He never said a numberlin' word,  
 Wasn't it a pity an' a shame  
 An' He never said a numberlin' word, Oh,  
 Not a word, not a word, not a word!

Dey nailed Him to the tree,  
 Not a word, not a word, not a word!  
 Dey nailed Him to the tree,  
 An' He never said a numberlin' word, Oh,  
 Not a word, not a word, not a word!

Dey pierced Him in the side,  
 In-a-the side, in-a-the side,  
 Dey pierced Him in the side,  
 In-a-the side, in-a-the side,

De blood came a-twinkalin' down  
 An' He never said a numberlin' word  
 De blood came a-twinkalin' down

An' He never said a mumberlin' word, Oh,  
Not a word, not a word, not a word!

He bow'd His head an' died  
An' He never said a mumberlin' word,  
He bow'd His head an' died  
An' He never said a mumberlin' word, Oh,  
Not a word, not a word, not a word.<sup>61</sup>

After the Negro was converted to Christianity, he expressed himself in these words:

You say your Jesus set-a-you free;  
View de land, view de land,  
Why don't you let-a-your neighbor be  
Go view de heavenly land.  
You say you're coming for de skies  
Why don't you stop-a-your telling lies?<sup>62</sup>

This world was regarded by the Negro as a hell. His task was to bear his load patiently, and then go to his home in the sky. The Bible story had promised him a mansion in the heavenly land. There, he was to enjoy himself in the court of the King; he was to see the angels dance on the sea of glass; yes, he was going to "fly all over God's heaven." In this land there was no more crying, no more tears, and sorrows, and all his family was to be together forever. The Bible taught him this concept and the Negro's tragic life made the land very real. Death to the Negro was only a means toward passing over the Jordan River to be with his Jesus.<sup>63</sup> A Negro cried when dying; "I am going home: Oh, how glad I am!" Some exclaimed:

When the roll is called up yonder,  
 I'll be there.  
 By the Grace of God up yonder,  
 I'll be there.  
 Yes, my home is way up yonder  
 An' I'll be there!<sup>64</sup>

The Shout. "On the plantation there was likely to be a 'praise house,' where the slaves were permitted to worship in their own peculiar way. It was here that the shout took place"<sup>65</sup> The praise house was mostly used for the conversion of the Negro who was in mourning for his sins on the mourning bench. While the slave was on the mourner's bench, a large group of dancers would dance and sing around him continuously. When the mourner was convinced that his soul was released from hell's damnation, he would leap about and shout for joy.<sup>66</sup>

Phillis Wheatley. The author has mainly described the religious life of the Negro on the plantations in the south. A description of what the response of the Negro in the north to the Protestant denominational approaches is now needed. Evidence for this description may be found in the life of Phillis Wheatley.

Phillis Wheatley, an African slave girl, was sold to the household of the Wheatley's in Boston, Massachusetts. She was taught to read and write by her mistress who afterward recognized the ingenuity of her mind in writing poetry.

In 1770, Phillis was received as a member of the Old South Meeting House under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. Sewall. Phillis Wheatley describes her conversion in a poem, "On Being Brought from Africa to America:"

Thus mercy, brought me from my pagan land,  
 Taught my benighted soul to understand  
 That there's a God — that there's a Saviour too:  
 Once I redemption neither sought nor knew,  
 Some view on sable race with scornful eye —  
 Their color is a diabolic dye.  
 Remember, Christians, Negroes black as Cain  
 Maybe refined, and join the angelic train.<sup>67</sup>

One can understand the respect with which she esteemed the man who was responsible for her conversion. "On the Death of Samuel Sewall" she wrote:

"Sewall is dead. Chief-penion'd  
 Fame thus cry'd  
 Is Sewall Dead," my trembling tongue reply'd  
 O what a blessing in his flight leng'd  
 How oft for us the holy prophet pray'd  
 How oft to us in the Word of Life convey'd!<sup>68</sup>

In 1773 Phillis published her poem on George Whitefield. This elegiac poem was placed in the hands of the Countess of Huntingdon, a long admirer of the man Whitefield. The Countess invited Phillis Wheatley to England as her guest. Many gifts were given to Phillis Wheatley, including a copy of the magnificent 1770 Glasgow folio edition of "Paradise Lost." A few lines will reclaim the memories which this domestic slave girl held for George Whitefield:

Great Countess! we Americans revere thy name,  
 And thus console thy grief sincere:  
 We mourn with thee, that tomb obscurely plac'd,  
 In which thy Chaplain undistur'd doth rest.  
 New England sure, doth feel the Orphan's smart;

Reveal the true sensation of his heart:  
 Since fair Sun, withdraws his golden rays,  
 No more to brighten these distressful days!  
 His lonely Tabernacle, sees no more  
 A Whitefield landing on the British shore:  
 Then let us view him on yon azure skies!  
 Let every mind with this lov'd object rise,  
 No more can he exert his lab'r'ng breath,  
 Seized by the cruel messenger of death.  
 What can his dear America return?  
 But drop a tear upon his happy urn,  
 Thou tomb, shalt safe retain thy sacred trust,  
 Till life divine re-animate his dust.<sup>69</sup>

The poems of Phillis Wheatley were rewarded with many kind gifts by the people of Boston. They provide us with some insight into the religious life of the domestic servants of New England.

#### *F. Summary of the Period 1619-1800.*

The Negro Community presented a dilemma to the young nation, struggling on the one hand against British tyranny, and on the other hand struggling for the freedom of religious expression.

The British historian, Lecky, reviewing this period of American history sees in the affairs of the young government; "the grotesque absurdity of slave owners signing a Declaration of Independence which asserted the inalienable right of every man to liberty and equality."<sup>70</sup> Men like Jefferson, Franklin, Paine and Otis recognized this contradiction as it related to the Negro Community. The contradiction of the American ideal and the American practice toward the Negro Community is destined to play a prominent role in enriching and enlarging the life of a virile democracy in the following period.

The Protestant Community developed the idea that the Negro Community was a moral beneficiary of Christianity. The denominations of this period stood for equality in religion regardless of a man's social, or racial rank. God is the head of the church of which no one may be excluded.

The Negro was granted the right to worship with the white congregation and participate in the church life. In cases where the congregation was composed of Negroes they were invited to share in the larger associational life of the denomination. In some cases Negro preachers were the pastors of white congregations. Especially was this true of the evangelical churches like the Methodist and Baptist.

It was through the Churches that the educational work for the Negro first began. The Quakers and the Anglicans were especially noted for their work among the Negro Community.

The strong sentiments against slavery developed in the Protestant churches and were carried over into the abolitionist societies.

The handicaps of the Protestant Community cannot be exaggerated. In most cases the slave-masters were hostile toward the Christianizing of the Negro. The ignorance of the slave was another tremendous handicap to overcome. Yet, these missionaries came — and it is only because the records of history are silent that a number of their names must go “unwept, unhonored and unsung.” May it be said that traces of their foot prints may be found in the lives of pioneer Negro preachers, in the poems of Negro poets, and in the song which sprang from the soul of the Negro as evidence of his gratitude for the lives of these men of God.

PART II

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY WITHIN AMERICAN  
PROTESTANTISM 1800-1844



## CHAPTER IV

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENTS WITHIN THE  
AMERICAN PROTESTANT COMMUNITY  
1800-1830*A. General Background.*

The period 1800-1831 marks a distinct change in the American Protestant Community's attitude toward the Negro Community. The liberating attitudes of the Nation and the Protestant churches, which prevailed in the period immediately following the Revolution, showed few signs of any aggressive concerted action for the "immediate emancipation" of the Negro. The author thinks of this period as one of preparation for the later period of Garrisonism when the anti-slavery trumpets in the Nation and the Protestant churches were to blow in full blast.

While the author is specifically concerned with the actions taken by the American Protestant Community toward the Negro during this period, a statement of the general American background may provide a better understanding of the problems involved.

The Revolutionary War ended with the colonies still left with the problem of selecting a definite form of union of a strong centralized state, exercising its power over the whole, or a union of decentralized power in individual states. The colonies swiftly became absorbed with this problem. The issue revolved around the economic problems involved. Two parties arose out of the controversy, the Federalist and the Republican parties.

*The Federalist Party.* In 1789, the year George Washington became the first President of the United States, Alexander Hamilton became his secretary of the Treasury, a member of the cabinet. Hamilton more than any other man set the policy of the new government. This policy was: 1) to build a strong centralized government; 2) to invest sovereign rights of the government in a small capitalistic minority. For twelve years the policy of the new government was operated by the Federalists. During this period a small group of Northern financiers became powerful through the complex machinery of credit, "the hated paper system, by discounting and money brokerage."

"The truth was slowly coming home to the farmer and small men that war is profitable to the few at the cost of many; that from the egg of war financing was hatched a brood of middle-men who exploited the post-war hardships and grew rich from the debts that impoverished the producing farmers."<sup>1</sup> This truth led to formation of the Republican party whose chief spokesman and defender was Thomas Jefferson, president in 1801.

*The Republican Party.* Jefferson "sincerely believed that the only basis of a republic was a body of land-owning farmers, enjoying the fruits of their own toil, looking to the sun in heaven and the labor of their own hands for their support and independence."<sup>2</sup> Jefferson was a strong opponent of Hamilton's fiscal system and championed the cause of agriculture. The economic ideas of Jefferson were made real by the Republican denunciation of the funded debt as a means of creating a money power; the repudiation of the excise tax on whiskey to the joy of the back wood farmers; and the reduction of the

high cost of the federal establishment by the elimination of many civil offices.

In 1803, James Monroe purchased the famous Louisiana territory which strengthened the agricultural interest as against that of the mercantilism of the east. Soon, this territory became involved with the problem of slavery. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was the solution finally agreed upon. While it marked a triumph for the East in securing the greatest amount of anti-slavery land, the combination of western and southern agrarianism was the beginning of an imperialistic agrarian economy which was to have its champion in Andrew Jackson, the first "Democrat." This union formed the balance of power in the new Republic.

On March 4, 1829, Andrew Jackson, a son of poverty-stricken parents in the uplands of South Carolina, a slave owner, winner of the battle with the British in New Orleans, the son of the soil and the forest, took the oath of office as President of the United States. This event marked the triumph of the western agrarian influence in the government. The first task of the new chief was to "scrape the barnacles from the ship of State." His next considerations were to interpret the tariff, nullification, the Bank, internal improvements, and the disposal of western lands in the light of the political concepts of Jefferson.<sup>3</sup>

During the reign of Jackson a new type of political doctrine was taking root in the South. The Southern humanitarian sentiments of Jefferson were being displaced by the imperialism of the plantation. John Calhoun became the spokesman for the new teaching. The economics of the South became securely built around the "Black Belt." Every other issue of southern life became fastened to the issue of slavery. The somewhat vague doctrine of

states rights in Jefferson's thinking was elaborated into a philosophy of particularism with its principle of "protective state veto." The doctrine of nullification caused a tremendous stir in the nation. This doctrine marked the first effort of the South to extend the Slavocracy into the new western lands to be used as a balance of power against the mercantile and industrial North. It was the intention of John Calhoun to pattern this slavocracy after the Greek democratic state. This concept also marked the beginning of the southern secession from the North, and the beginning of the great struggle between the free west and the slave south over western lands.

Impartiality requires us to determine the relationship of the above facts of the Negro Community. 1) The Federalist party, being non-democratic in its attitude toward the masses of whites, were disinterested in the conditions of slavery, 2) The Republicans of the days of Jefferson were in less than twenty years to become the defenders of an imperialistic agrarian economy based on slavery. There was no national party after the Revolution until 1831 that dared take a positive stand on the slave issue, which would end in immediate emancipation for the Negro. 3) The North and South were beginning to weigh carefully their sectional differences.

In the clash between the South and the North two systems became inevitably involved. The South justified the use of Negroes as slaves as they compared them with the conditions of factory workers in the Northern industrial cities. In the taunt of John Randolph: "Northern gentlemen think to govern us by our slaves; but let me tell them, we intend to govern them by their white slaves."<sup>4</sup>

While the North realized the injustice of the existence of Negro slavery, their own white worker in the textile in-

dustry left the North pleading and hoping that the sin of slavery would slowly disappear from the United States.

The discovery of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1794 developed a revolution in the Southern cotton industry. With the aid of the cotton gin the Negro could increase the cleaning of cotton by fifty pounds per day. "In 1791, three years after Andrew Jackson settled in Nashville, the total export of cotton was only 200,000 pounds per year. In 1803, 40,000,000 pounds, and by 1860 the export for the year was of the value of nearly two hundred millions of dollars."<sup>5</sup> This enormous invested interest became the determining factor of the slave economy.

New plantations were opened. The natural supply of slave labor had decreased since the abolition of the traffic with Africa in 1807. New Englanders began to smuggle Negroes from African coasts — the increase of speculation in the domestic slave markets brought a sense of horror to Northern humanitarians which encouraged the formation of the American Colonization Society in 1816.

With the increase of the textile industry, the plantation owners bought vast areas of land. These lands were run by managers whose ruthless, aggressive profit making ventures to feed the mills of England and the North, made the lives of the slaves miserable. This increased misery brought forth the Negro protest in insurrections, and independency of thought in his church life.

Some historians liken this period from 1800 to 1831 to that of the "Dark Ages." Let it be said that the age was not without its evidences of anti-slavery light within individuals, society, and the church. Against this general background of the national life, we may better understand the anti-slavery struggle within the American Protestant Community.

*B. The Numerical Growth of the Negro Community in America 1800-1831.*

An examination of the numerical strength of the Negro Community, as well as the anti-slavery attitude existing in the Nation, individuals, and in the Protestant denominations is necessary at this point.

A consideration of the numerical strength of the Negro Community becomes our first task. Tables will be found on the following pages which will illustrate the population of the Negro Community, 1800-1830.<sup>6</sup> The census shows that the larger number of slaves existed in the Southern states. Delaware is the only Southern state with an actual numerical decrease of Negroes. South Carolina, Louisiana lead the list in population of Negroes; Mississippi follows.

The New England states show a gradual decline in population of slaves. In 1830 Vermont was completely without slaves. Connecticut led the list with twenty-five. Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire were virtually without slaves, and had adopted gradual emancipating acts to free those Negroes that remained. The slaves in New England were mostly domestic and stood less chance of being abused by their masters.

The Northern states of Ohio, Indiana and Michigan had few slaves during the period. New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey had a large number. The census shows that a gradual decline of slave power was beginning to show itself in New England and in the Northwest. The great bulk of the Negro Community was to be centered around the "Black Belt," North and South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, Alabama, and Tennessee.

CENSUS OF 1800

The Population of the Negro Community 1800

State	Slave	Free Negro	Total
Me.	0	818	818
N. H.	8	856	864
Vt.	0	557	557
Mass.	0	381	6,452
R. I.	381	3,304	3,685
Conn.	951	5,330	6,281
N. Y.	20,343	10,374	30,717
N. J.	12,422	4,402	16,824
Penn.	1,706	14,564	16,270
Ohio	0	337	337
Ind.	135	163	298
Ill.	—	—	—
Mich.	—	—	—
Del.	6,153	8,268	14,421
Md.	105,635	19,587	125,222
D. C.	3,244	783	4,027
Va.	345,796	20,124	365,920
N. C.	133,296	7,043	140,339
S. C.	146,151	3 185	149,336
Ga.	59,404	1,019	60,423
Fla.	—	—	—
Mo.	—	—	—
Ky.	40,343	741	41,084
Tenn.	13,584	309	13,893
Ala.	—	—	—
Miss.	3,489	182	3,671
La.	—	—	—
Ark.	—	—	—
U. S.	893,041	108,398	1,001,439

## CENSUS OF 1810

State	The Population of the Negro Community 1810		Total
	Slave	Free Negro	
Me.	0	969	969
N. H.	0	970	970
Vt.	0	750	750
Mass.	0	6,737	6,737
R. I.	108	3,609	3,717
Conn.	310	6,453	6,763
N. Y.	15,071	25,333	40,350
N. J.	10,851	7,843	18,694
Penn.	795	22,492	23,287
Ohio	0	1,899	1,899
Ind.	237	393	630
Ill.	168	613	781
Mich.	24	120	144
Del.	4,177	13,136	17,313
Md.	111,502	33,927	145,429
D. C.	5,395	2,549	7,944
Va.	392,518	30,570	423,088
N. C.	168,824	10,266	179,090
S. C.	196,365	4,554	200,919
Ga.	105,218	1,801	107,019
Fla.	—	—	—
Mo.	—	—	—
Ky.	80,561	1,713	82,274
Tenn.	44,535	1,317	45,852
Ala.	—	—	—
Miss.	17,088	240	17,328
La.	34,660	7,585	42,245
Ark.	—	—	—
U. S.	1,191,364	186,446	1,377,810

CENSUS OF 1820

The Population of the Negro Community 1820

State	Slave	Free Negro	Total
Me.	0	929	929
N. H.	0	786	786
Vt.	0	903	903
Mass.	0	6,740	6,740
R. I.	48	3,554	3,602
Conn.	97	7,844	7,941
N. Y.	10,088	29,279	39,367
N. J.	7,557	12,460	20,017
Penn.	211	30,202	30,413
Ohio	0	4,723	4,723
Ind.	190	1,230	1,420
Ill.	917	457	1,374
Mich.	0	174	174
Del.	4,509	12,958	17,467
Md.	107,398	39,730	147,128
D. C.	6,377	4,048	10,425
Va.	425,153	36,889	462,042
N. C.	205,017	14,612	219,629
S. C.	258,475	6,826	265,301
Ga.	149,656	1,763	151,419
Fla.			
Mo.	10,222	347	10,569
Ky.	126,732	2,759	129,491
Tenn.	80,107	2,727	82,834
Ala.	47,439	633	48,072
Miss.	32,814	458	33,272
La.	69,064	10,476	79,540
Ark.	1,617	59	1,676
U. S.	1,543,688	233,566	1,177,254

## CENSUS OF 1830

## The Population of the Negro Community 1830

State	Slave	Free Negro	Total
Me.	2	1,190	1,192
N. H.	3	604	607
Vt.	0	881	881
Mass.	1	7,048	7,049
R. I.	17	3,561	3,578
Conn.	25	8,047	8,072
N. Y.	75	44,870	44,945
N. J.	2,254	18,303	20,557
Penn.	403	37,930	38,333
Ohio	6	9,568	9,574
Ind.	3	3,629	3,632
Ill.	747	1,637	2,384
Mich.	32	261	293
Del.	3,292	15,855	19,147
Maryland	102,994	52,938	155,932
D. C.	6,119	6,152	12,271
Va.	469,757	47,348	517,105
N. C.	245,601	19,543	265,144
S. C.	315,401	7,921	323,322
Ga.	217,531	2,486	220,017
Fla.	15,501	844	16,345
Mo.	25,091	569	25,660
Ky.	165,213	4,917	170,130
Tenn.	141,603	4,555	146,158
Ala.	117,549	1,572	119,121
Miss.	65,659	519	66,178
La.	109,588	16,710	126,298
Ark.	4,576	141	4,717
U. S.	2,009,043	319,599	2,328,642

*C. Anti-slavery Attitudes Towards the Negro Community.*

The author's second task is to describe the anti-slavery attitudes existing in the period by the American Protestant Community. These attitudes will be described: first among the prominent men of the North and South; second among the magazines, newspapers and essays of both northern and southern sections of the country; third, in the Protestant denominations; fourth, in the American Colonization Society.

*Prominent Men of the South.* A great popular sentiment has existed among historians that the South was totally pro-slavery in its attitude. A careful consideration of historical data reveals that this opinion is not altogether true. One of the most prominent men in the South of this period was Henry Clay. Historians remember him for his famous proposal of the Missouri Compromise in 1820. A consideration of Clay's attitude toward slavery may be found in a speech delivered at Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1829. He said:

More than thirty years ago an attempt was made in this commonwealth to adopt a system of gradual emancipation similiar to that of which the illustrious Franklin had mainly contributed to in 1780, in the state founded by the benevolent Penn. And among the acts of my life which I look back to with most satisfaction is that of having cooperated with the zealous and intelligent friends, to procure the establishment of that system in this state . . .<sup>7</sup>

Daniel Byran spoke very strongly against slavery in the Virginia Legislature in 1820.<sup>8</sup> John Randolph of Vir-

ginia made a similar speech before Congress in 1816 on the "infamous traffic."<sup>9</sup>

William Drayton of South Carolina expresses his contempt of slavery in 1828; "Slavery, in the abstract, I condemn and abhor. I know no terms to express my reprobation of those who would introduce it into a nation" . . .<sup>10</sup> Thomas H. Benton argued against Daniel Webster's attempt to depreciate the participation of the South in passing the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Benton says the "South is entitled to the credit of originating, and passing this great measure — a circumstance to be remembered and quoted, as showing the South at that time in taking the lead in curtailing; and restricting the existence of slavery."<sup>11</sup>

William Crawford of Georgia describes his opposition to slavery in a letter to Governor Coles of Illinois, he writes, "Is it possible that your Convention is intended to introduce slavery into the state? I acknowledge if I were a citizen I should oppose it with great earnestness . . ."<sup>12</sup>

Benjamin Lundy is said to have been "the first to establish anti-slavery periodicals to deliver anti-slavery lectures, and probably to encourage societies for free labor." Starting at the age of nineteen in his home at Wheeling, Virginia, Lundy made up his mind to become actively engaged in anti-slavery work. In 1815, Lundy organized "The Humane Society" at St. Clairsville, Ohio; the year 1824 saw him lecturing on the subject of slavery at Deep Creek, North Carolina. Meeting with much success on his lecture tours, Lundy continued to organize his "Humane Societies."<sup>13</sup> In 1828, Lundy tried to organize anti-slavery societies on his trips to Philadelphia, New York, Providence and Boston. He was not successful in this effort.

Lundy's greatest contribution toward the anti-slavery attitudes in the South was made through the publication of his own periodical, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." The first volume of this paper in 1821 reveals a plan which Lundy presented as a means to free the Negro.

In the first place, I would propose that the government of the United States should totally abolish slavery in all the territories and districts over which Congress possesses the exclusive control; in order to prevent its spreading over a greater extent of the country, and consequently increasing in magnitude: and for the purpose of guarding more effectively against its extension, let a positive injunction be used against the admission of any new state into the Union, hereafter, without an express provision against slavery in its constitution.

Secondly, "To prevent smuggling slaves into the country from abroad, to put a stop to the domestic slave trade," prevent the crime of kidnapping free Negroes, etc., let the transportation of them from one state to another be prohibited under severest penalties, in all cases except the actual removal of their owners for the purpose of settlement.

Thirdly, let the free states all agree to receive free colored persons upon the footing of aliens, without imposing any other restraints than white persons of that description are subject to.

Fourthly, let all the blacks that may be willing to go to Hayti, or elsewhere be sent out at the public expense, or rather the joint expense of the general and state governments, societies, etc.

Fifthly, let the slave-holding states make simultane-

ous arrangements for a gradual though certain Emancipation of their slaves; and let them repeal their laws which were enacted for the purpose of forcing the free colored people away and place them upon a par with the same class of persons in free states.

Sixthly, and lastly, in order to unite the people of every part of the country in the benevolent and patriotic work, let one or more delegates be appointed, in each state, to meet in convention annually, for the express purpose of collecting information, and settling details of a regular system of operations: whose duty it shall be to report their proceedings to the same legislature of their respective states.<sup>14</sup>

The aim of Lundy in the above plan is surely a definite form of gradual abolition of the Negro. In 1824, Lundy presents a plan wherein Negroes would have an opportunity to work out their purchase money, after being colonized.<sup>15</sup> Here, Lundy is advocating colonization. In 1823, Lundy declares in an editorial: "Nobody advocates an immediate liberation of the slave."<sup>16</sup> In short, the aim of this publication is the gradual though total abolition of slavery in the United States of America.<sup>17</sup>

The above statements prove the author's position, that a large number of the prominent men of the South objected to slavery. Further, some went so far as to suggest ways and means to get rid of the evil.

A study of the newspapers, essays, and magazines reveal some popular anti-slavery attitudes in the South.

"The Genius of Universal Emancipation." This paper was founded by Benjamin Lundy in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in July, 1821. The paper later moved to Greenville, Tennessee, and in 1824 to Baltimore, Maryland. Leaving

Baltimore in 1830 the publication finally moved to Philadelphia. The paper never received a large subscription (the author did not find the list of any subscribers) and was always in financial difficulties. Lundy, its editor, spent most of his time hunting new subscriptions. In the last six months of its existence William Lloyd Garrison was in partnership with Lundy in the publication of this paper.<sup>18</sup> The two men differed in their opinions toward the Negro. Lundy advocated "gradual emancipation," Garrison advocated "immediate emancipation." For the purpose of coherence we shall reserve our discussion of Garrison for a later period. Lundy was the editor of this important paper in the period 1800-1830.

A discussion of some of Lundy's attitudes toward the Negro will throw more light upon this important piece of journalism.

In an editorial entitled "The Fruit of Ignorance and Desperation," Lundy reports his opinion about a story printed by Modercai M. Noah, the erudite New York editor of the "National Advocate," about a Negro attempt of the rape of a white woman. Noah's comment on the act was:

The foregoing instance of hardened villainy is not calculated to do much good to the cause of the blacks, and shows the liberties they assume without the right of franchise. We are falling into errors in our ideas respecting people of colour. Protection in person, property, and religion, and no more for them. Let the agitator of the Missouri plot read the above and reflect.<sup>19</sup>

Commenting on the statement of Modercai M. Noah, Lundy says:

Now it seems strange that it never should have occurred to Modercai that the degraded condition of the blacks is expressively calculated to prepare them for the commission of crime; and that to enlighten their understandings and hold out inducements for them would be the surest means of inducing the same.<sup>20</sup>

There is no doubt that Lundy, a Southern editor, faced this most difficult problem of human relationships, fairly and squarely.

In an earlier section the author has already cited Lundy's plan for the abolition of the slave;<sup>21</sup> it becomes necessary to discuss other anti-slavery statements found in the South.

*The Delaware Weekly Advertiser*. "The Delaware Weekly Advertiser," published in 1827, in Wilmington, Delaware, after a refusal of the editor to print a reward for a runaway slave, made this observation:

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness.<sup>22</sup>

Unusual in the early anti-slavery literature was the effort of two women to aid the anti-slavery cause with the pen. (This is significant if we remember that women at this time had few rights to equal those of men.) Margaret Chandler proved a valuable aid to Lundy in the publication of "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." Anne Royall often spoke of the inconsistency of slavery with the nation's ideal.<sup>23</sup>

In 1827 a writer in North Carolina denied slavery in forceful terms. "The writer viewed it as a most hallowed system of superlative oppression."<sup>24</sup>

Niles, the editor of the "Niles Weekly Register," expressed himself openly in editorials in favor of better treatment for the free blacks as well as the training of the slaves for gradual emancipation.<sup>25</sup>

An investigation of what the Protestant Denominations thought about slavery will be found in a later section. It is sufficient to point out from the evidence given in the above illustrations that there was a liberal anti-slavery element in the opinions of the South directed toward the Negro Community.

*Prominent Men in the North.* A review of what some of the important men of the North thought about anti-slavery will provide the author with a chance to contrast their opinions with those of the men from the South.

*Daniel Webster.* One of the most prominent men of the North was the statesman of New England, and of the Nation, Daniel Webster. G. T. Curtis, Webster's biographer, has recorded Webster's thought on slavery:

1) Webster held that all guarantees which the Constitution had given as a domestic institution of State in the Union, were to be strictly and faithfully observed; and while he regarded slavery as political, social and moral evil, he did not allow that political action upon it was under jurisdiction of the Federal government, by citizens of non-slave-holding States, were legally or morally justifiable. 2) He maintained that any enlargement of its area, by the addition of new slave-holding States, was at all times and under all circumstances a question that concerned the whole

Union; fit to be acted upon by Congress, and in his opinion never assented to. 3) He considered the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia as a matter wholly under the control of Congress, to be acted upon always with reference to the effect of such actions upon the harmony and stability of the Union.<sup>26</sup>

The attitude of Webster seems to be totally centered upon the preservation of the Union at any cost, even at the price of permitting slave states to hold their slaves.

One of the strongest anti-slavery men in Ohio was John Rankin. In one of his letters to John Dickey, his personal sentiments toward slavery are expressed:

1. Slavery is opposed to domestic peace.
2. Idleness on the part of the slave-master is the general result of slavery.
3. Slavery promotes vice among the free inhabitants of slave-holding states.
4. Slavery debilitates the constitution of slave-holding people.
5. Slavery must eventually tend to poverty.
6. Ignorance is another result of slavery.
7. Slavery weakens every state in which it exists.
8. Slavery tends toward tyranny. (The constitutions of the states of South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, implies this idea. These constitutions say that a slave may be taken improved, and destroyed without either judgment or law.)<sup>27</sup>

Rankin faced the problem of slavery from the attitude of what it does to the nation that enslaves them. It is a posi-

tive approach to the problem of slavery. Later, Rankin was to be a very valuable ally with Garrison in the anti-slavery cause.<sup>28</sup>

Charles Francis Adams edited the "Works of John Adams" and has provided the historian with evidence of what one member of the famous Adams family of New England thought on the problem of slavery. In 1819, John Adams made this remark on slavery:

I have, through my whole life, held the practice of slavery in such abhorrence, though I have lived for many years in times when the practice was not disgraceful, when the best men in my vicinity thought it not inconsistent with their character, and when it has cost me thousands of dollars for the labor and subsistence of free men, which I might have saved by the purchase of Negroes at times when they were cheap.<sup>29</sup>

Isaac T. Hooper, a member of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, rendered a very valuable service as a lawyer in behalf of the Negro. He was frequently called upon to protect the rights of free Negroes, and aided the cause of the Underground Railroad in the cause of the emancipation of the Negro. "In the process of time, he became known to everybody in Philadelphia as the friend and legal adviser of colored people upon all emergencies."<sup>30</sup>

William Lloyd Garrison began his work for the liberation of the slaves in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1828. He assumed the responsibility of co-editorship with Lundy in the publication of "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." In an editorial Garrison attacked a Mr. Todd of Newburyport, Massachusetts, for participation in the do-

mestic slave trade. This, Garrison called illegal, and contrary to the law of 1807 which forbade the continuance of the slave trade with Africa. Mr. Todd promptly sued for libel. Garrison was placed in jail. John G. Whittier, then editor of the "New England Weekly," asked Mr. Henry Clay to pay the fine of Garrison and secure his release. Mr. Arthur Tappan, a rich merchant from New York, however, immediately came to the aid of Garrison and paid his fine. With this event there was to grow a life time friendship between Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison.

After this event, Lundy and Garrison permanently dissolved their partnership with each other. There was a difference in opinion between the two men as to how to aid the cause of the slave. Garrison attacked personalities and the system; Lundy seems to have been content to attack the system of slavery per se.

In 1830, Garrison carried his campaign for abolition of slavery to the North, and especially to the New England States. He did not meet with a warm reception. The clergy and citizens were still hostile to any thought of immediate abolition of the Negro. Renewing his courage and conviction Garrison began the publication of the "Liberator," 1831, of which we shall speak in a later chapter. Thus began one of the most outstanding careers in the anti-slavery movement.<sup>31</sup>

*Popular Anti-slavery Attitudes in the North.* In 1812, Major Amos Stoddard, a citizen of Philadelphia, published his account of his travels in the State of Louisiana. In describing the scenes which he saw, Stoddard makes an anti-slavery plea to his fellow-citizens.

The scenes of misery and the coast of the Delta, the wounds and lacerations occasioned by demoral-

ized masters and overseers, most of whom exhibit a strange compound of ignorance and depravity, torture, and feelings of the passing stranger and wring blood from his heart. Good God! why sleeps Thy vengeance!<sup>32</sup>

In 1823, an Englishman traveler in the United States, a Mr. Isaac Holmes, wrote these observations about the conditions of slavery in the North:

In a few years, slavery will no longer exist in the state of New York and in New Jersey also, measure has been taken to effect gradual abolition. To the honour of the inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia be it spoken that they have done much in favor of the blacks. Again of those members of Congress from the Eastern states, who voted for the permission of slavery in Missouri, nine out of ten were not afterward restored; they were considered as men unworthy of the confidence of their fellow-citizens, because they had voted in contradiction to their knowledge and declared sentiments of their constituents.<sup>33</sup>

This observation differs from the observation of a Mr. J. M. Duncan traveling in the United States, that he frequently saw signs advocating the sale of Negroes in New York.<sup>34</sup> An English farmer by the name of Faux says that in his travels to America in 1823, the people of New England took free Negroes to the South and sold them as slaves. Faux recalls particular events of this nature. New England slave ships carried slaves to the port of South Carolina.<sup>35</sup> The author has already mentioned the

incident in Garrison's early life where he accused a Mr. Todd of Newburyport for the illegal sale of Negroes at Baltimore.<sup>36</sup>

These opinions of early travelers in the United States are interesting as they throw light upon the anti-slavery sentiments in the North, 1800-1830. Additional sources may be found in some of the literature of the period.

Lundy commenting upon the rise of John Greenleaf Whittier to the editorship of the "New England Weekly," says:

We have received several numbers of this truly interesting and well conducted periodical. We think from the candour, intelligence and liberality of its conductors, and from their avowed sentiments respecting the condition of the coloured population of the United States, that it will form an important accession to the benevolent periodicals of our country and contribute much toward the acceleration of principles favourable to get total abolition of slavery.<sup>37</sup>

An extract from the "New England Weekly" indicates the source of his comment:

All aware, that the slavery which exists in these states is a deadly and cancerous sore upon the vitals of the commonwealth — that it must be eradicated — or the nation dies.<sup>38</sup>

The name of Whittier was "a bright star in the Quaker firmament" and shall be spoken of later in connection with the "New England Anti-slavery Society."

Ralph W. Emerson, the "New England Transcendentalist," wrote many poems on the evils of slavery. In 1822, Emerson, in his "Vision of Slavery," wrote a mild view of slavery, if compared with his later works on slavery. Emerson mainly argues whether any man has a right to deprive any other human being of freedom. If this is answered in the affirmative, then Emerson concludes that the idea of a benevolent God does not exist for him.<sup>39</sup> Further, "To stop the slave traffic the nations should league themselves in indissolvable bands, should link these thunderbolts of national power to demolish the debtor of all Justice, human and divine."<sup>40</sup>

Up to this point we have considered opinions of a number of Southern and Northern individuals as expressed by their actions, words, and writings. While this proves conclusively the existence of anti-slavery opinion in the South as well as the North, this does not mean that these sentiments represent the majority of the people. A comparison of the similarities and differences of anti-slavery opinions in both the South and the North will bring our description into better focus.

*Similarities.* The Northern and Southern anti-slavery sentiments advocated a program of "gradual emancipation" for the Negro Community. 2) Both Southern and Northern statesmen were unwilling to risk their political futures by advocating "immediate emancipation" for the Negro. 3) Sectionalism was the supreme motivation in the approaches made to the problem. The anti-slavery sentiments were unpopular in both South and North.

*Differences.* 1) The Southern sentiments were directed toward gradual emancipation, beginning in each individual state. 2) The Northern anti-slavery attitudes approached the problem of slavery on what slavery does to

the nation. 3) The Northern individual appeal was to the American Creed as a defense of their anti-slavery position. The Northern view of slavery was often philosophical in out-look.

*D. The National Law of 1807.*

On March 2, 1807, the Constitutional Congress passed a law which forbade the continuance of the United States in the African slave trade. The law reads:

From and after the first day of January, 1808, it shall not be lawful to import or bring into the United States or from any foreign kingdom, palace or country, any Negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with the intent to hold, sell or dispose of such Negro, mulatto, or person of colour as a slave as to be held to service or labour.<sup>41</sup>

While this was one of the most important legal documents of the time, the young government was not able to build sufficient governmental machinery to see that the law was enforced. Hence, a great deal of slave smuggling was still continued in defiance of the national law.<sup>42</sup> The African agency grew out of this. Its purpose was to protect the Negroes and reship those who were brought illegally into the United States to Cape Masurado (later known as Liberia), and there, with the help of United States finance, were organized into a colony.<sup>43</sup> In 1822, this colony was to function in conjunction with the Colonization Society.

*E. The Legal Status of the Negro Community in the South and North.*

The legal status of the Negro Community in the North and in the South, usually reflected the private opinion of

the judge handling the case. While showing the actual status of the Negro Community in the period 1800-1830, these cases also show to what extent a white judge would go in opposition to white opinion.

*The North.* With the closing of the African slave trade in 1807, the shortage of slave labor in both South and North tended to produce many instances of kidnapping of the free Negro to supply the labor shortage. Many states in the North passed laws protecting the free Negro in his freedom.

New York, 1827; Indiana, 1816; Michigan, 1815; New Jersey, 1826; Connecticut, 1821; Ohio, 1830; and Pennsylvania, 1825; these states passed laws protecting the free Negro against kidnapping. A quotation of the law passed in Pennsylvania will give us some indication as to what type of protection was given:

Bioren's laws, C. 4858, Sec. 1, declares that the offence of taking away or seducing, etc., to places out of the Commonwealth, etc., any Negro or mulatto, with intent to keep, etc., such persons as a slave, or servants for years, shall be a felony punishable by fine and imprisonment.<sup>44</sup>

*Birth and residence in a free State.* A person born in a free state was considered in every situation a free person.<sup>45</sup> Negro slaves were also removed to a free state regarded as free.<sup>46</sup> That is, if the removal was temporary or permanent. This was not the case when the slave was passing through one state to another.

*An act for the gradual abolition of slavery.* In 1804, an act was passed in New Jersey for the gradual abolition of slavery. Sec. 1, p. 251:

That every child born of a slave after the fourth of July, 1804, "shall be free," but "remain servants," males until twenty-five, females until twenty-one years. Contains other provisions relating to maintenance.<sup>47</sup>

Similar laws were passed in the states of New York in 1801, and Connecticut in 1821.

*Fugitive Slave laws.* The states of the North were constantly troubled with the problem of fugitive Negroes. Laws were immediately enacted to protect the states from such menace.<sup>48</sup> In many cases the strong sentiments of these laws were in favor of the fugitive slave.

A law passed in 1824 in Indiana relative to fugitives from labor reads:

- 1) Claimant may have warrant to arrest and bring the fugitive before a circuit judge or justice of peace.
- 2) The judge is to decide on the proofs in a summary way; proviso, that either party may appeal, paying costs of trial and security on appeal; and the alleged fugitive must swear that he does not owe labor or service.
- 3) The trial shall then be before a jury.<sup>49</sup>

This law is very unique in the sense that it provides opportunity for a trial by jury for the Negro refugee, before he is proved a fugitive. Many ill results were derived from such a law. In many cases the juries were paid by the slave-masters to issue a verdict of guilty previous to the trial.

In the criminal code of Illinois in 1827, a law was passed against anyone harboring fugitive slaves. This law

provides an interesting contrast to Indiana's law, in the sense that no trial is mentioned for the Negro, to have opportunity to defend himself.<sup>50</sup>

*Marriage.* In the State of Indiana, a law was passed in 1817 making it a "penalty against sexual intercourse between white and black persons;" and it shall "be unlawful for any white person to intermarry with any Negro in this State." 1R, S. 361 — with one having "one-eighth or more Negro blood."<sup>51</sup> The author would like to point out here, that this is the first law of its kind where membership in the Negro Community is confined to the fraction of a person's blood. Other cases of this kind are to come later on in the century.

A survey of the laws in the North affecting the Negro Community shows that the great battles against slavery were taking place in the Western states. Dubois says that the North had not yet awakened to the tremendous change which was taking place in the South, and did little or nothing about it.<sup>52</sup>

*The South.* Turning from the status of the Negro Community in the North, let us consider the Negro Community's status in the South.

Few Negroes were given a chance for a trial in cases where they had committed a crime of murder in the South. The author could only find one such case. A Negro, fugitive from Baltimore, was tried by a jury for the murder of his owner and another man who tried to apprehend him. He was found not guilty for the murder of his owner in self-defense, but was found guilty of manslaughter for murdering the other man, and was sent to prison for nine years.<sup>53</sup>

*Right of the Legal Master over his slaves.* Stroud states: "that the master at his own discretion inflicts any

species of punishment upon the person of his slave.”<sup>54</sup> Judge Whyte handed down an opinion, which is quoted by Wheeler, that “the master had unlimited power over the life of his slave.”<sup>55</sup> There are other opinions that differ with this statement.<sup>56</sup> Generally, however, the complete jurisdiction of the master over the slave was never questioned by the legal authorities.

Because of the gradual decline of slave labor, laws were passed in the South to prevent the manumission of slaves without due recognition of law. Mississippi, 1805; Kentucky, 1810; Maryland, 1810; and South Carolina, 1820. A quotation from the law of South Carolina will better describe this process:

1b. 459, Sec. 1 enacts that slaves shall be emancipated by act of legislature only.<sup>57</sup>

*Laws against the kidnapping of slaves.* The laws of the South were just as strong against the kidnapping of Negroes, and selling them into other states, or releasing them to freedom. Two kidnappers in the State of Maryland were sentenced to prison for five years.<sup>58</sup> In Delaware in the same year two prominent citizens were publicly thrashed and cropped for kidnapping.<sup>59</sup> A law was passed in Louisiana in 1814; in Virginia in 1829; and in Missouri and North Carolina in 1818, which forbade the kidnapping of Negroes under fine or severe punishment.<sup>60</sup>

The insurrections of 1800 and 1808, of which we shall speak later, caused the Southern states to pass severe laws against the Negro Community. In 1802, North Carolina passed an act “to prevent conspiracies and insurrections among the slaves.”<sup>61</sup> Kentucky followed in 1810 with an act “for the gradual preventing of crimes, conspiracies,

and insurrections of slaves, free Negroes and mulattoes, and for their better government.”<sup>62</sup> Florida passed a crimes act in 1828 on November 14th declaring the death penalty for inciting insurrection among slaves. Further, “killing slaves in the act of revolt is declared justifiable homicide.”<sup>63</sup>

An increased suspicion of religious gatherings of Negroes as the reason for insurrections was evident in the laws of the South. In 1803 an Act “authorizing the removal of slaves from the county of Alexander, in the District of Columbia into this Commonwealth,” 3 Shep. 76, c. 111, was passed. Declaring what shall be the unlawful meeting of slaves, 3 Shep. 108:

Recites that it is a common practice for slaves to assemble in considerable numbers at meeting houses and places of religious worship in the nights, which, if not restrained, may be productive of considerable evil to the community; provides also for the breaking up of such and for punishment.<sup>64</sup>

Acts for the prevention of the circulation of seditious pamphlets suggesting freedom were also passed in the South. Mississippi, 1830:

Sec. 1. 1) White persons, for this offense, punishable with fine and punishment. 2) Colored persons, for the same and death. 3) No colored person to be employed in printing offices.<sup>65</sup>

A Negro was also forbidden to appear as witness in matters civil or criminal against a white, unless that person was charged with raising an insurrection.<sup>66</sup>

After the cessation of the African slave-trade the Negro Community in the South became more sharply defined. The States in the South had to rely heavily upon Negro labor, because of the rapid rise of the cotton industry. In our illustrations which we have already presented we find these changes taking place in the laws toward the Negro Community: 1) A person with one-eighth percent Negro blood was considered as a member of the Negro Community. This law added to the number of persons who made up the Negro Community; 2) Slave-masters became very cruel because of the shortage of labor and the higher demand for cotton; 3) The religious instruction of the Negro Community received greater opposition by the whites in the South because of the insurrections of 1800 and 1808; 4) The need for domestic slaves increased more than the supply. Kidnapping of slaves was common, but the act was severely punished if the kidnappers were caught.

This comparison may be made of the legal attitudes of the South and North during this period toward the Negro Community. In the North, the Negro Community was slowly and gradually being emancipated. In the South, the Negro Community was more and more entrenched in the institution of slavery.

#### *F. The Position of the American Protestant Community Respecting Slavery 1800-1830.*

The author purposes to examine the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Quaker Denominations' position toward slavery in the period, 1800-1830. The position of the denominations shall be from 1) what the Protestant denominations said, and 2) from what the Protestant denominations did. The Methodist, Baptist and Presbyteri-

an are examined. 1) The Negro Community was largely confined to these denominations; 2) Because these three denominations functioned in both Northern and Southern states. The Quakers are examined because of their continuous anti-slavery record.

What did the Methodist say?

The Discipline of 1801, in reply to: "What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?" answered:

The annual conferences are directed to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves to the legislatures of these states, in which no general law has been passed for that purpose. These addresses shall urge in the most respectful but pointed manner the necessity of a law for the gradual emancipation of the slaves; proper committees shall be appointed, by the annual conferences, or of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business; and the presiding elders, deacons, and traveling preachers shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses and give all the assistance in their power in every respect to aid the committees, and to further this blessed undertaking. Let this be continued from year to year, till the desired end be accomplished.<sup>67</sup>

In 1808, The General Conference authorizes each Annual Conference to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves.<sup>68</sup>

In 1824, the section on slavery in the *Discipline* was amended for the last time among the Methodists until 1860. The author will quote from the General Rules of

1824 to show what the Methodists thought about slavery:

1) We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom. 2) When any traveling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives. 3) All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God, and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service. 4) Our colored preachers and official members shall have all the privileges which are usual to others in the District and Quarterly Conferences where the usages of the country do not forbid it. And the presiding elder may hold for them a separate District Conference where the number of colored preachers will justify it. 5) The Annual Conferences may employ colored preachers to travel and preach where their services are judged necessary; provided that no one shall be so employed without having been recommended according to the form of Discipline.<sup>69</sup>

Such testimonies as have been given are usually relied upon to show the anti-slavery sentiments of the Methodists. Actually, they show that the Church recognized the evil

of slavery, but was very accommodating to the pro-slavery elements in the Church.

In 1826, the Quarterly Conference of the Cambridge Circuit, Maryland, adopted resolutions which denounced slavery and called attention to the inconsistency of lay members of the churches in holding slaves while the officials were not allowed to do so. They voiced their intentions of presenting a rule at the General Conference to forbid the admission to the church of a slaveholder who would not manumit his slaves where the laws of the state permitted.<sup>70</sup>

S. B. Weeks speaks of a Methodist Bishop of Georgia, in 1825, telling a traveler in the state that the Methodists of his area were considering making a rule that all members would free their slaves.<sup>71</sup>

The Methodists did very little in the anti-slavery struggle. Its principal motivation in this period was to increase its numerical strength. It was willing to do this at the cost of maintaining its slave members and, as we shall see later, it also encouraged separate churches for the worship of its Negro membership. The lines of the South and North in Methodism were to come to a point of schism in the denomination.

*The Baptists.* Unlike the Methodists, the Baptists have no great ecclesiastical body to which they are subject. Hence, the Church was not subject to any organic difficulties over the problem of slavery. The great masses of Baptists were able to reconcile themselves to the existence of slavery in the land. While they were individually willing to do all they could to rid the land of this great evil, few instances are found where an effort was made to organize an anti-slavery movement.<sup>72</sup>

One of these few Baptist anti-slavery movements oc-

curred when Carter Tarrant, David Barrow, John Sutton, Donald Holmes, Jacob Gregg and George Smith organized themselves in 1808 into a society called "Friends of Humanity." This body did not maintain any fellowship with slave-holders in Kentucky. The organization was largely confined to the states of the Middle West and its reputation was always small.<sup>73</sup> The Illinois Baptist Churches admitted slave-holders into their fellowship. Because of this, seventeen Baptist Churches withdrew from the connection in 1828, and sent circulars addressed "to the Friends of Humanity in Illinois, Missouri, and elsewhere."<sup>74</sup>

Generally speaking, the Baptists took no outstanding action toward slavery in this period, but rather tended to ignore it. The organic life of the "Baptist Triennial Convention" which was organized in 1814, well expresses the view that the Baptists tended to ignore the institution of slavery:

Under its constitution slaveholders and non-slaveholders united on terms of moral and social equality. This was its fatal error. It caused the Convention from its birth to its dissolution to sanction as Christian a slave-holding religion. The first President was Richard Furman, a slave-holder of South Carolina. He filled the office until 1820, when another slaveholder, Robert B. Semple, of Virginia, succeeded him, and was President till 1832, when Spencer H. Cone of New York City was elected, who held the office until 1841, when another slave-holder, William B. Johnson, of South Carolina, was elected, at the close of whose term of office in 1844, Francis Wayland became President. Thus, for twenty-one of the thirty

years of this organization, slave-holders were its Presidents.<sup>75</sup>

*Presbyterians.* The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was well qualified to influence the public on the problem of slavery. Most of the churches in this denomination were in the Northern states, hence they were able to speak more freely than the Methodists or Baptists. In 1815, the General Assembly reported their "approbation of the principles of civil liberty," and their "deep concern at any vestiges of slavery which remain in this country."<sup>76</sup> This is theory. In practice the Presbyterian General Assembly "urged the lower judicatures to prepare the young slaves for the exercise of liberty when God in his providence shall open a door for emancipation."<sup>77</sup> In 1816, the position of the General Assembly went backward. While it called slavery a "mournful evil" it erased the strong words of previous action taken in 1795 against the act of man-stealing.<sup>78</sup> In 1818, the influence of the anti-slavery element in the church became stronger. The Presbyterians adopted unanimously a declaration where slavery is called:

A gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of Jesus Christ, which enjoin that "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them."<sup>79</sup>

The Church also expressed favor of the Colonization Society elimination of cruelty to slaves, and the continued

striving for legal protection which some of the slave states were trying to give to the Negro. The General Assembly still permitted slave-holders to hold office in the church, in spite of its statement concerning slavery as a gross violation of human rights. The violators were exhorted to:

continue and increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery, with no greater delay than a regard to the public welfare demands, and recommends that if a Christian professor shall sell a slave, who is also in communion with our church, without the consent of the slave, the seller should be suspended till he should repent and make reparations.<sup>80</sup>

Resolutions were introduced in 1823 to exclude slave-holders from the Presbyterian ministry, and also deny them the right of taking communion. Neither of these resolutions was upheld.<sup>81</sup> The very making of them, however, showed symptoms of an anti-slavery impulse in the Church. Turning now from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church let us investigate some opinions held by the various associations in the Church.

*The Synod in Kentucky.* In 1823, the Synod of Kentucky voiced favorable approval of the American Colonization Society, and in the same year solicited funds from the various churches which composed the body to support the Society's work in Liberia.<sup>82</sup>

In 1826, the Synod of Ohio discussed the question, "Is the holding of slaves man-stealing?" The question was decided in the affirmative. Later, in the same year, a resolution was passed which stated "that slavery could no longer be tolerated within the jurisdiction of the Synod.

In 1827, the Union Presbytery of East Tennessee pur-

chased and set free two colored families. Out of these families emerged two acceptable preachers of the gospel. One of these colored preachers was named John Gloucester, of whom we shall speak in a later chapter.<sup>83</sup>

The Associate Reformed Synod, in 1830, passed this resolution:

1) That the religion of Jesus Christ requires that involuntary slavery should be removed from the Church as soon as an opportunity, in the providence of God, is offered to slave-owners for the liberation of their slaves.

2) That when there are no regulations of the State to prohibit it; when provision can be made for the support of the freed man; when they can be placed in circumstances to support the rank, enjoy the rights and discharge the duties of freedom, it shall be considered that such an opportunity is afforded in the providence of God.

3) That Synod will, as it hereby does, recommend to all its members to aid the slaves that are within the jurisdiction of the Synod in the possession of their rights as freedmen; and that it be recommended to them to especially take up annual collections to aid the funds of the American society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States.

4) That the practice of buying or selling of slaves for gain by any member of this Church be disapproved, and the slave-owners under the jurisdiction of this Synod be, as they hereby are, forbidden all aggravations of the evils of slavery, by violating the ties of nature, in the separation of husband and wife,

parents and children, or by cruel and unkind treatment; and that they shall not only treat them well, but also instruct them in useful knowledge and the principles of the Christian religion, and in all respects treat them as enjoined upon masters, towards their servants by the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>84</sup>

From the illustrations given above we may discern these facts about the Presbyterian Church. 1) Like the Methodist Church it recognized the evil of slavery as being contrary to the Gospel. 2) That it was only willing to advocate gradual emancipation for the Negro, and that this action could go only as far as the individual states permitted. 3) For the first time, a major Protestant denomination recognized the Negro family as a social unit worthy of being protected by ecclesiastical powers.

The most active opponents of slavery in this period were the Quakers. They furnished the leaders in the anti-slavery movements in America. Benjamin Lundy of whom we have spoken earlier, the editor of "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," was a Quaker. We mention his name because his work is the most outstanding in the period under observation. The Quaker Yearly Meetings of 1819, 1823, 1824, in memorial to the Congress of the United States, expressed their continued hatred of the institution of slavery and called for an immediate halt to its extension in the United States.<sup>85</sup>

In 1822, the Quakers in the free States of Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, voted to aid the Negroes who had escaped from the South to find shelter and food.<sup>86</sup> The Quakers of North Carolina acted to assist and raise money for the American Colonization Society. In 1826 a ship

with some fifty Negroes from North Carolina sailed for Africa, and in 1827, sixty-seven Negroes sailed for Africa from funds contributed by the Quakers of North Carolina. Other actions by the Quakers may be found in S. B. Weeks' Monograph, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, a Johns Hopkin study.

The attitudes of the Quakers were similar to the other religious bodies. The emphasis of the Protestant Community in this period was; 1) Gradual emancipation of the Negro Community in states where this was expedient; 2) Removal of the Negro back to Africa in colonies supported by the United States and independent organizations.

The Protestant Community and the Protestant State, in ecclesiastical law, and in civil law, tended to be to accommodate the pro-slavery church members and citizens. The plan which met with universal support from this accommodation was the American Colonization Society. A statement of the purpose and aim of this Society will follow.

### G. *The American Colonization Society.*

The American Colonization Society was sustained by the leadership and influence of the Church and State. It was applauded by Jefferson in 1811; Henry Clay was in favor of the Society and made speeches as early as 1829 in favor of it; Edward Coles, Governor of Illinois, also voiced his approval of the plan. The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1818 favored the American Colonization Society; the Quakers in North Carolina were in favor of the Society and raised money to aid the cause; the Methodists of Maryland, Cambridge Circuit, were also favorable to the objective of the American Colonization Socie-

ty as a means of ridding the nation of the evil of slavery.

*Origin.* In 1816, after an attempted slave insurrection in Virginia, the Virginia Legislature induced the Congress of the United States to colonize free Negroes and those who would afterward become free in a territory in the country of Africa. Henry Clay, Judge Washington and Mr. Randolph made speeches in favor of such a plan. Out of these speeches emerged the organization named: The American Colonization Society, with Judge Washington as its first president.

The objective:

The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.<sup>87</sup>

The object as stated poses an ambiguity in its phrasing. It does not say that the Negroes will be emancipated or whether the Society will strengthen the institution of slavery.

This ambiguity immediately brought a wave of protest from the Negro Community and from the strong anti-slavery element which was to develop later in the nation, called by historians, Garrisonian. These protests the author purposes to discuss later in other chapters. The point here is, that the American Colonization Society was an organ of the joint co-operation of Church and State which was trying to solve the problem of slavery short of "immediate emancipation."

*H. Summary.*

The evidence here presented shows a decided anti-slavery element in the North and South during this period, 1800-1830. These sentiments, though representing a small minority in the Protestant Community and State, can be likened to smouldering embers waiting for a Garrison to fan the embers into flame.

The period may be described as a period of "gradualism." The voices in the Protestant Community and the State were pleading for the "gradual emancipation" of the Negro until the nation was rid of the evil of slavery.

The leaders of "gradualism" were to be found in the Southern and Northern Middle States. The problems of slavery were more acute in these sections because of the numerical strength of the Negro Community located therein. The Northern Middle States were able to pass laws permitting "gradual emancipation" in the States and Church. Though the Southern leaders like Lundy were preaching "gradual emancipation" in the South, the States passed laws which protected its slave institutions.

The South had to rely upon the economic values found in the slavery system. It was the foundation upon which the cotton industry was built. Here, then, is the beginning of a sectional difference between North and South which was to end in the Civil War of 1860.

New England States were little concerned over the problems of slavery. Slavery as an institution was almost completely dissolved. There was little need for New England to concern itself with an institution located far beyond its borders. There were men like Whittier and Emerson pleading the cause of the Negro. But in a larger sense, the New England mind maintained a social distance from the evils of slavery until the time of Garrison.

The American Colonization Society and its objective was the one Society upon which State and Church could agree. This organization was, however, to raise a tremendous protest in the minds of the Negro Community and liberal Prophetic Protestantism. What these protests were will be discussed in later chapters.

The author would like to point out this fact concerning the Protestant Churches. The State and the Protestant Community were irrevocably interwoven with each other. The Protestant Community was unwilling to make a stand which the State did not permit or sanction in this period. Social actions of the Protestant Community were determined by the nature of slavery in the State. This was the reason that in the South the Methodists and Baptists were largely pro-slavery in their attitudes, and in the North were for "gradual emancipation."

Most of the denominations were willing to sacrifice actions on the slavery issues to maintain the pro-slavery membership. Signs of segregation were appearing in the church disciplines. The Negro Community which, in a later period was encouraged to worship in the white group, was slowly forced to form into separate independent church movements. In the South the fear of revolt was so real among the Negro Community, that Negro assemblies for worship were highly discouraged. A more sufficient treatment of this matter will be done in Chapter V. The author would only like to point out that the trend toward a Negro independent church movement paralleled the plan to colonize the Negro Community in Africa.

The period from 1800-1830 is then a period of transition from the early sympathetic approaches of the Protestant Community toward the Negro to the period of mili-

tant immediate abolitionism. The period may be considered a period of preparation. The institution of slavery was carefully debated in the Protestant Community and in the State. The lines were formed, the South against the North, the South holding on to its economic slave liferaft, and the North beginning to feel that this liferaft should be punctured. "Gradual Emancipation" was to be turned into the cry of "Immediate Emancipation" after 1830.

## CHAPTER V

## THE NEGRO PROTEST 1800-1830

*A. General Situation.*

In the preceding chapter the author has indicated the rise of the "Negro Problem" in the American Protestant Community. The rapid increase of the Negro population in the United States presented a problem to the Nation and to the Church in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The problem was, what shall we do with the Negro Community? The ideals of the American Creed proclaimed the essential dignity of the individual human being, of the fundamental equality of all men, of certain inalienable rights to freedom and justice, and a fair opportunity for self-expression. We have seen, however, that in the period 1800-1830, the American Community was not yet ready to live up to the ideals of the American Creed. Compromise solutions were presented to solve the Negro problem. They were: 1) Send the Negro back to African colonies; 2) Let a process of "gradual emancipation" be the answer to the problem of slavery; 3) Keep the Negro bound in the institution of slavery. None of these solutions approached the ideal of the American Creed.

In the period 1800-1830 the Protestant denominations accommodated themselves to proposed solutions of colonization, "gradual emancipation" and continued slavery. The ethics of the "Kingdom of God" were still short of being practiced in the Protestant churches. With the rise

of the Negro population in the nation there was also a rise of the Negro membership in the Protestant churches. In time, their number created a problem. A desire to restrict the Negro membership in the churches led often to segregation in the services. Places in the congregation were specifically designated for the Negro. In most cases a place in the gallery was set aside for the Negro worshipper. This place soon became known among the white worshippers as "nigger heaven."<sup>1</sup>

While these changes were taking place in the minds of the Nation and the Protestant churches, the Negro was also undergoing a change. The ideals of the "Kingdom of God" which he had heard from the white preachers, and the humanitarian sentiments of the American Revolution which he had heard in the thoroughfares of the Nation aroused a spirit of protest against the church and Nation that kept him in chains. These protests were seen first in the rise of the independent Negro church movement; second, in slave revolts; third, in social organization and agitation. A description of the Negro's protest follows.

### *B. The Independent Negro Church Movement.*

Benjamin Mays defines the Negro Church "as the term given to distinguish the churches operated mainly for and by Negro people. It is one of the separate or segregated branches of the Christian Church."<sup>2</sup> In accounting for the origin of the Negro church, Mays lists these four factors:

- 1) The Negro was hardly wanted in the white church.

- 2) A growing race consciousness stimulated the

desire on the part of the Negroes to have their own churches. They wanted to sing, preach, direct the choir, and serve on the board of deacons.

3) The white minister could not speak pointedly and effectively to the needs of the Negro. He spoke from the perspective of a free man who had never really experienced what it really meant to be a slave and what it meant to be told by words and deeds that it was the will of God that he be a slave. When the white ministers preached equality of the slave before God, he seldom meant that this equality should be fulfilled here and now.

4) The Negro church, accordingly, sprang into existence partly because the Negro needed a church where a gospel could be preached which would speak to the needs of his soul; it was born out of the heart-felt needs of the Negro people.

Mays continues:

If there had been no segregation in white churches and if the Negro had been welcomed in the white churches, the needs of the race would have produced the Negro church. But if it had come wholly that way, it would have been a separate church, not a segregated church.<sup>3</sup>

While the author agrees with Dr. Mays in his general statement concerning the origin of the Negro church, he thinks him very bold to assert "that if there would have been no segregation in the white churches, the needs of the race would have produced the Negro church." The author thinks it very clear that if there had been no racial

discrimination in the white churches there would have been no independent church movement for the Negro Community. The issue which underlies the origin of the Negro church is social and anthropological and not theological. In an earlier chapter the author tried to point out that the religious expressions of the Negro were based on the theological thinking of the white ministers, and the Negro preachers' sermons were those often remembered from his contact with the white minister. The author is in agreement with Gunnar Myrdal, that the very existence of a Negro church is due to caste.<sup>4</sup> And without the caste structures of the American Protestant Church there would be no need for separate or segregated churches for Negroes and whites.

An appeal is made to history to justify the above assertion.

*The African Methodist Episcopal Church.*

Charles H. Wesley, in his life of Richard Allen, the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, makes this statement concerning its origin:

African Methodism had its origin in those conditions which race distinctions had developed in American religious life and organization. When the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church and other organized bodies began to display in the field of religion the distinctions which were found in other avenues of life, thoughtful, adventurous and ambitious Negroes in the several large centers of population began to manifest their dissatisfaction. The surrender of these churches to slavery and to the principle of white domination of black congregations, and their cowardice

and compromise when affronted by the color problem, constituted the foundations for the building of churches with Negro leadership.<sup>5</sup>

The African Methodist Episcopal Church was officially organized in Philadelphia in the year 1816. The organization of the church grew out of the expressions of the Negro members of St. George Methodist Church, Philadelphia, and similar experiences of Negro members of Methodist churches in the cities of the middle states. A study of the experiences of the Negro members of St. George Church, Philadelphia, will provide historic insight as to the development of the church.

In 1787, the first sign of discontent on the part of the Negro Methodists of St. George Church, Philadelphia, was revealed. Due to the increase of Negroes in the worship services the white membership proposed a seating plan whereby the Negro members were to sit in the gallery. In November, 1787, Richard Allen and several other Negro members were forced from their knees while they were praying and were asked by the usher to sit in the balcony of the church. The statement is such a classic one in African Methodist Church history that the author thinks that its founder, Richard Allen, should describe for the reader what took place:

A number of us usually sat on seats placed around the wall, and on Sabbath morning we went to church, and the sexton stood at the door and told us to go in the gallery. He told us to go and we would see where to sit. We expected to take the seats over the ones we formerly occupied below, not knowing any better. We took those seats. Meeting had begun, and they were nearly done singing, and just as

we got to the seats the elder said, "Let us pray." We had not been long upon our knees before I heard considerable scuffling and loud talking. I raised my head up and saw one of the trustees, H— M—, having hold of the Rev. Absalom Jones, pulling him off his knees, and saying, "You must get up; you must not kneel here." Mr. Jones replied, "Wait until prayer is over, and I will get up and trouble you no more." With that he beckoned to one of the other trustees, Mr. L— S—, to come to his assistance. He came and went to William White to pull him up. By this time prayer was over, and we all went out of the church in a body, and they were no more plagued with us in the church. This raised a great excitement and inquiry among the citizens, insomuch that I believe that they were ashamed of their conduct. But my dear Lord was with us, and we were filled with fresh vigor to get a house erected to worship God in. Seeing our forlorn and wretched condition, many of the hearts of our citizens were moved to urge us onward; notwithstanding we had subscribed largely toward furnishing St. George's Church, in building the gallery and laying new floors; and just as the house was made comfortable, we were turned out from enjoying the comforts of worshipping therein.<sup>6</sup>

From this moment a series of events began which led to the beginnings of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1793, Allen, with the aid and advice of several Negro brothers, erected the Bethel Church in Philadelphia. Bishop Asbury consecrated the Church, and white ministers from the St. George Church supplied the pulpit.

In 1795, the Bethel Church trustees voted to incorporate under the title of the title of the "African Methodist Episcopal Church of the city of Philadelphia, and in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." The names of John Morris, William Hagan, Robert Green, Jupiter Gibson, William Jones, Jonathan Trusty, Peter Lux, Prince Prudence and Richard Allen appeared on the list of the corporation.<sup>7</sup> This incorporation was made in order that the church might receive any donations or legacy as well as enjoy any other advantages arising therefrom. The Rev. Ezekiel Cooper helped them to draw up the corporation papers.<sup>8</sup> But they soon found that he had done it in such a manner as to entirely deprive them of the liberty they expected to enjoy.<sup>9</sup> The Bethel Church remained under the jurisdiction of the Methodist ministers of St. George who supplied the Bethel Church's pulpit.

The Bethel Church continued under this arrangement without any difficulty until the year 1805. In this year, the Rev. James Smith entered into some disagreement with the colored members. The Rev. James Smith demanded the keys and books of the Bethel Church, and declared that there would be no more meeting at the church without his consent.<sup>10</sup> The congregation asserted their right to hold meetings in the church since the church was erected by their own efforts and directions. Appealing to the incorporation action of the members of the church in 1801, Rev. James Smith soon proved the church was under his supervision as a member of the Methodist connection. The members of Bethel Church voted to draw up a settlement which transferred the property of the church into the hands of the trustees of the church. Further, it gave the right of the trustees to appoint and encourage the participation of more Negro preachers and

exhorters in the worship services.<sup>11</sup> The "African Supplement" to the corporation act of 1801, still gave the right to the white minister of St. George Church to preach once every Sunday in the Church of Bethel. It was also stated that the Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church could nominate a person to preach in the meetings of the church; such person must, however, be duly licensed according to the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church or have leave of the majority of the trustees of the Bethel Church. The Elder of the Methodist Church was held to his obligations to attend the Quarterly Conference, Love Feast, or trial of a member. If these duties were not carried out, the trustees were duly licensed to see that these duties were performed. The congregation of Bethel agreed to pay a sum of two hundred dollars for the services of a white minister from St. George Church. The St. George Methodist Church agreed to provide such services for that amount. With this agreement, the Bethel Church and the St. George Methodist Church of Philadelphia were to form a relationship of mutual understanding until the year 1811.

The Rev. Stephen G. Roszell was appointed to the St. George Methodist Church of Philadelphia in 1811. In the same year the members of the Bethel Church refused to pay the sum of two hundred dollars to an elder who had preached at the church only five times during the previous year. The Rev. Roszell, however, considered this a breach of the previous agreement which they had made with the Church of St. George and decreed that no more white ministers would serve the Bethel Church for at least another year. In the meantime, the Rev. Richard Allen, a duly ordained deacon served the congregation as its class leader, exhorter and preacher.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the elder of the

Academy Union Methodist Episcopal Church of Philadelphia agreed to furnish an elder for the Church of Bethel. The services were rendered by the white minister, but the Bethel Church refused to pay for his services. In due time, the elder of the Academy published a letter expelling the Bethel Church from the Methodist Church, and invited those Negroes who wished to remain with the Methodists to the Zoar Methodist Church which was being erected for them near the Bethel Church. The author will speak about the development of this church in a later section.

In 1813, the Rev. Robert R. Roberts of the St. George Church still insisted on supplying for the colored congregation. Being opposed by the Negro members he withdrew his insistence to continue as pastor of the Bethel Church. On December 31, 1815, Elder Robert Burch, also from St. George's Church, tried to assume the pastorate of the congregation but with no success.<sup>13</sup> However, the Rev. Burch carried the case to the Supreme Court of the State and asked for a writ of mandamus to restore the Bethel pulpit to him.<sup>14</sup> The Bethel Church promptly hired the services of Israel Ingersoll to plead their case before the court. Attorneys Birney and Brown also represented the church.<sup>15</sup> Judges Yeats and Breckenridge handed down a decision in agreement with the attorneys representing the Bethel Church, "that the Rev. Burch nor any elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church had any right to the pulpit contrary to the wishes of the congregation, and that any right could be withdrawn from him at their pleasure."<sup>16</sup> The independence of the Bethel Church of Philadelphia was finely established.

The year 1816 marked the beginning of a Negro independent church movement as a protest to the American

Protestant Community. On January 21, 1816, the Reverend Daniel Coker preached a sermon commemorating this outstanding event in the life of the Philadelphia church in Baltimore, Maryland. He likened the release of the Bethel Church from the Methodist denomination as to the children of Israel gaining their freedom from Babylonian bondage.<sup>17</sup>

While the struggle for an independent church movement in Philadelphia was taking place, similar events were taking place in the cities of the middle states.

In 1801, the Rev. Daniel Coker, a former Negro slave, became a member of the Methodist Church in Baltimore. "The Rev. Daniel Coker was born on the eastern shore of Maryland, the son of an English woman, who was an indentured servant, and a slave father by the name of Edward Coker."<sup>18</sup> Daniel Coker obtained elements of education through the perverseness of his young master, who would not attend school unless Daniel would accompany him. Daniel Coker escaped to freedom in New York State, and joined a Methodist Society. Bishop Asbury ordained him a deacon of the Methodist Church. Returning to Baltimore, Coker was able through the help of Michael Coate, a Methodist preacher, to purchase his freedom. Coker opened an "African School" in Baltimore and began the training of Negro boys and girls. In the meantime he became active in the Methodist Society in Baltimore. Receiving similar treatment to that of the Negro Methodist Society in Philadelphia, the Negro membership in the Methodist Society of Baltimore withdrew, at the advice of Daniel Coker, from the Methodist Society and set up in the home of Don Carlos Hall an African Methodist Church.<sup>19</sup> The author has already quoted from a sermon of Coker in Baltimore showing his sympathy

with the Bethel Church in Philadelphia. Coker was later to join with Richard Allen in the founding of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

A similar movement occurred in Wilmington, Delaware. The leaders of this movement were Peter Spencer and William Anderson.<sup>20</sup> These two leaders withdrew the Negro membership from the Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church in Wilmington and formed an African church. The reason given was, "We thought that we might have more satisfaction of mind than we then had if we were to unite together and build a house for ourselves; which we did the same year. The Lord gave us the favor and good will of all religious denominations and they all freely did lend us help and by their good grace we got a house to worship in."<sup>21</sup> The church was established in 1805. Soon, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the trustees of the African Church became involved in differences, which finally resulted in the articles of association for the African Union Church, established in 1813.<sup>22</sup> Other churches were organized from this church in Attleboro, Pennsylvania, by Jacob Marsh, Edward Jackson and William Anderson, and in Salem, New Jersey, by Peter Cuff.<sup>23</sup>

The African Methodist Episcopal Church was officially organized in 1816. The places and names represented in the General Convention of 1816 were:

From Baltimore: — Rev. Daniel Coker, Rev. Richard Williams, Rev. Henry Harden, Mr. Edward Williamson, Mr. Stephen Hill, Mr. Nicholas Gilliard.

From Philadelphia: — Rev. Richard Allen, Rev. Clayton Durham, Rev. Jacob Tapsico, Rev. James Champion, Mr. Thomas Webster.

From Wilmington, Del.: — Rev. Peter Spencer.

From Attleborough, Pa.: — Rev. Jacob Marsh,  
Rev. William Anderson, Rev. Edward Jackson.

From Salem, N. J.: — Reuben Cuff.<sup>24</sup>

The important leaders of the convention were Richard Allen, Daniel Coker and Stephen Hill.<sup>25</sup> The following resolution was passed under which the African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized:

Resolved, That the people of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and all other places who should unite with them, shall become one body under the name and style of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America and that the book of Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church be adopted as our Discipline until further orders, except that portion relating to Presiding Elders.<sup>26</sup>

On the 9th of April, 1816, the Rev. Daniel Coker was elected the first Bishop of the A. M. E. Church. However, on the next day he declined the office in favor of Richard Allen who was elected Bishop and consecrated on the 11th of April, 1816. The reason for Daniel Coker's declining the office of Bishop has never been fully known. The Rev. David Smith, a contemporary, attributes Coker's resignation to his fair complexion. It has already been pointed out that Coker was born from the union of an English woman and a Negro. Coker was regarded by some of his contemporaries as being a white man. It was thought that as a Bishop of an African Church, his color might create some obstacle to his leadership. Said Smith, "He not being nearly white, the people said they could not have an African connection with a man as light as

Coker as its head; therefore the Rev. Richard Allen was their choice."<sup>27</sup> The Rev. Daniel Payne supports the assertion of Smith that the color of Coker was the reason for his withdrawal as Bishop of the A. M. E. Church.<sup>28</sup> It is not difficult to understand this action of Coker if we remember the strong sense of racial solidarity growing and expressing itself among the Negro Protestants of this period because of the treatment received by them in the Protestant denominations. The author is reminded of a similar tendency by Negroes who follow unwillingly the leadership of Negroes whose color is nearly that of the Caucasian.<sup>29</sup>

The African Methodist Church under the leadership of Bishop Allen made much progress in its appeal to the Negro Community. The Baltimore District under the leadership of the Rev. Daniel Coker reported 1,066 members in 1818, 1,388 in 1819, 1,760 in 1820, and 1,924 in 1822; in Philadelphia altogether there was a membership of about 4,000. With the establishment of the New York conference the limits of the connection extended eastward as far as New Bedford, westward to Pittsburgh and southward to Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>30</sup>

In 1817, the African Methodist Episcopal Church formed its first discipline, and issued the same among its members. Up to this time the Church had been governed by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Included in the Discipline of the A. M. E. Church are addresses signed by Richard Allen, Daniel Coker and James Coker. A statement concerning the importance of the Discipline is given by Richard Allen in the following words:

We deem it expedient to have a form of discipline whereby we may guide our people in the fear of God,

in the unity of spirit and in bonds of peace, to preserve us from the spiritual despotism which we have recently experienced.<sup>31</sup>

The congregations adopted the Discipline and continued to pattern it by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The "Articles of Faith" twenty-five in number, were the same as those which Wesley retained from the twenty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church. Richard Allen again provides us with why this was done. In a statement Allen says, "We do asquiesce and accord with the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church for our church government and discipline, and with her creeds and articles for our faith."<sup>32</sup>

A hymn book was soon published under the guidance of Richard Allen, Daniel Coker, and James Champion. Referring to this work Allen said:

Having become a distinct and separate body of people there is no collection of hymns we could with propriety adopt. However, we have some time been collecting material for the present work; and we trust the result of our labor will receive the sanction of the congregations under our charge. In our researches we have not passed over a selection of hymns because they were esteemed and used by a particular denomination, but have endeavored to collect such as were applicable to the various states of Christian experience. We exhort you to retain the spirit of singing, always recollecting that it is a part of divine worship, when the spirit and the understanding are united.<sup>33</sup>

The author would like to point out that the selections of hymns by the A. M. E. Church were made not on race

distinctions but as they "related to the various states of Christian experience." The Discipline of the A. M. E. Church was patterned after that of the Methodist Discipline and the term "Bishop" was used in the same sense that Asbury and others of the pioneer Bishops had used the term.<sup>34</sup> Thus ends our description of the organization of one of the first Negro Independent Church Movements. While it was based upon a distinction among the races, the A. M. E. Church still used the Methodist Discipline as a pattern of organization, and the Songs of the Church as a means of spiritual elevation. The Protestant Community which stemmed from the action of Luther and Calvin had now developed a schism based upon caste within its boundary.

*The African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion\**

Other Negro Methodist Churches were to develop from social schisms within the Methodist Church. The African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion grew out of the Negro membership of the John Street Church of New York City. In 1796, the Negro membership took the first step of action toward founding their own church. Leaders of the movement were Peter Williams, June Scott, Samuel Pontier, Thomas Miller, William Hampton, Abraham Thompson, and William Miller. James Varick, June Scott, and Thomas Miller were licensed preachers and William Miller an exhorter in the Methodist Church. These men secured permission from Bishop Asbury to worship in an old building on Cross Street, between Mulberry and Orange Streets, New York City. At this time these men had no thought of discontinuing their connection with the Methodist Church. They "had a desire for the privilege of holding meetings of their own, where they

\*Zion was added to the name of the Church in 1848

might have an opportunity to exercise their spiritual gifts among themselves, and thereby be more useful to one another."<sup>35</sup> In 1799, due to the increase of the Negro membership among the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York City, a proposal was accepted by the members to build a separate house of worship rather than to continue their connection with the Methodist Church. Upon the corner of Church Street and Leonard Street they erected a house of worship, and in 1800 named the edifice the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion.<sup>36</sup>

James Varick, Abraham Thompson, and William Miller have in a statement given the historian an insight into the cause of their actions:

Such was the relation in which we stood to the white Bishop and conference relative to the ecclesiastical government of the African Methodist Episcopal Church or Society in America that so long as we remained in the situation our preachers would never be able to enjoy the privileges which the Discipline of the white church holds for its members that are called of God to preach, in consequence of the limited access our brethren had to those privileges, and particularly in consequence of the difference of color, we have been led also to conclude that the usefulness of our preachers has been very much hindered.<sup>37</sup>

The Church was incorporated in 1801. The Rev. John McClaskey and many white friends of the Methodists encouraged this action. The name of Peter Williams, the sexton of John Street Methodist Church, of whom we have spoken earlier, appears on the charter with that of Francis Jacobs.<sup>38</sup> In Articles V and VI of the incorpora-

tion of the A. M. E. Zion Church, information is found as to the caste structure of the church. Article V of the incorporation states: "only Africans and their descendants shall be chosen as trustees of the church or any other property under this incorporation;" Article VI states: "that no persons should be admitted as members of this church other than Africans or their descendants."<sup>39</sup> The desires of the Church to be found on a caste basis is similar to that of the A. M. E. Church of Philadelphia. It is indicative of a spirit of protest which was aimed at the social unwillingness of the white Methodists to provide opportunity for Negroes to express themselves in the early history of the A. M. E. Zion Church and the African Methodist Church. Efforts were made to unite the two bodies.

Bishop Allen of the A. M. E. Church movement of Philadelphia made many efforts to secure the members of the A. M. E. Zion Church of New York City into the earlier movement which he had started in Philadelphia. However, the A. M. E. Zion Church elected to remain outside of Bishop Allen's Church and by public approval voted to continue their church movement. On August 11, 1820, the issue was finally decided. Efforts to unite the A. M. E. Zion Church and the African Methodist Church since that date have proved unsuccessful.<sup>40</sup>

In 1822, James Varick was elected the first Bishop of the A. M. E. Zion Church in New York City. In the year 1821, the doctrines and discipline of the new Church were made available, having been drawn up by James Varick, George Collins, Charles Anderson and Christopher Rush. Thus the A. M. E. Zion Church took to the field of organizing Negroes into separate and distinct church movements from that of the white Methodists.

*Negro Methodists in Washington, D. C.* The early Negro Methodists in Washington, D. C., developed church movements independent of the white Methodist of the city.

In 1820, a number of the colored members of the white Ebenezer Methodist Church withdrew their membership and erected a church in connection with the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Reason given for their withdrawal was, "that they had become dissatisfied with their treatment in the Ebenezer Church."<sup>41</sup>

About 1825, another group of Negroes withdrew from the white Ebenezer Methodist Church. "The Negro members were dissatisfied with their white pastors because they declined to take the Negro children into their arms when administering the rites of baptism." These members organized the Wesley Zion Church and employed a Negro preacher to look after their welfare.<sup>42</sup>

The rise of the independent Negro church movement among the Methodists clearly indicates a spirit of protest arising among its Negro members.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion were very successful among the Negroes in the middle states of the Union. They had little access to the Negro within the slave-holding areas. A consideration of the Negro Methodists in this area is now needed.

### *The Negro Within Methodism.*

There is a very important group of Negroes who remained within the fold of Methodism. This group of the Negro Community is distinguished from the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion. The Negroes within Methodism are those who were not in favor of the Allen and Zionist

movement, as well as those Negroes who remained within the fold of Methodism in the vast area of the South.

The earliest recognition of the Negro Methodist in the middle states was discerned in the Allen movement at the end of the eighteenth century. A group of Negro Methodists in the St. George Church in Philadelphia were invited to remain true to the St. George Methodist Church. For these Negroes the white Methodists of Philadelphia organized a church for them in Camping-Town, Philadelphia, and invited them to continue their worship there. This church is known as the Zoar Methodist Church which is still standing today. Bishop Asbury writes in his Journal of October 9, 1796:

At Zoar Chapel, the Church of the second African society in Camping-Town, I enlarged on "Ye were as sheep going astray, but we are now returned to the shepherd and bishop of your souls."<sup>43</sup>

Zoar Methodist Church was considered with the Methodist denomination, and was sustained and supported by the ministers and laymen of St. George. While the historian may call this church a separate church movement, we cannot in this period say that it was a segregated or an independent Negro church.

The Negro Methodist in the south was still worshipping with the white congregations in this period under discussion. There were no Negro independent church movements which sprang from the Methodist denomination in the South. In 1816, the South Carolina Conference, which at that time embraced a large part of North Carolina, Georgia and Florida, as well as South Carolina, contained 22,383 white and 16,178 colored members.<sup>44</sup>

In 1818, the Methodist Church in Charleston reported 350 white and 1,000 colored members.<sup>45</sup> In 1816, the Methodist Church of Wilmington, North Carolina reported 700 Negroes and 92 whites.<sup>46</sup> The Methodist of Raleigh, North Carolina reported 135 Negroes and 85 whites in the year 1831.<sup>47</sup>

In 1892, the Methodist missions were extended to the slaves on the isolated plantations and coastal regions by the members of the Methodist South Carolina Conference. John Honour and John Massey labored with Christian zeal and understanding with the slaves of the Ashley, Santee, and Pedee Rivers.<sup>48</sup> The missionary work on the part of the South Carolina Conference among the slaves was largely inspired by the work of the Rev. William Capers. Rev. Capers labored diligently in behalf of the slave.

The point here is that the Negro was still considered as a member of the Methodist denomination in the South. While the Negro was forced to sit in separate pews or in "nigger heaven," there was still no major independent Negro church movement in the South. The author thinks that this was true for two reasons: 1) The free territories of the North provided an environment whereby the Negro was more intelligent in thought, hence more capable of resenting by organized protest the social maltreatments of the whites. 2) The fear of slave insurrections generally made the southern churches careful to superintend the religion of their slaves. 3) A number of the Methodists in the South had become wealthy from the financial gains of the plantations and thereby were more interested in keeping the Negro in slavery. This kept them from permitting any form of religious expression which would give to the slave a thought of freedom. 4) While the author

lists the above reasons as giving evidence for the independent church movements in the North, he cannot help but be struck by the facts that the Negro Methodists in the South out-numbered the whites; that the Methodists in the South cared for the religious needs of the Negro and admitted him as a member of the Methodist congregations. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was the first sign of an independent church movement among the Negroes in the South. This movement did not get under way until after the Civil War.

### *The Baptists.*

There were many separate Baptist Churches organized in this period, "but they did not unite into larger independent bodies until the Providence Baptist Association was organized in Ohio in 1836. After this a number of such organizations were formed in various areas."<sup>49</sup>

In 1805, Thomas Paul of Boston founded an African Baptist Church in Boston and became its first pastor. In 1807, Paul journeyed to New York City and organized there a group of Negroes into a Baptist Church. In 1809, the church purchased a white church building and renamed it the Abyssinian Baptist Church.<sup>50</sup> In 1809, the Negroes in Philadelphia organized under the leadership of the Rev. Burrows the First Baptist Church of that city.

Negroes were still worshipping with the white Baptist churches in the South. This does not mean that there were no separate Negro Baptist churches in the South. The First Baptist Church of Richmond included Negroes within its membership. In 1815, Lott Carey, a former Negro slave, was appointed missionary to Africa. This marked the first time that a Negro was sent from an interracial church as a missionary to Africa.<sup>51</sup>

In the period 1800–1830, there was no larger associational life among the separate Negro Baptists.

*Presbyterians.*

In 1807, Rev. John Gloucester founded the first African Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. John Gloucester's support in this church work was largely received from the Evangelical Society of Philadelphia. A church building was erected and completed in 1811 for the African Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of John Gloucester who remained its pastor until his death in 1822.<sup>52</sup> This is the first evidence of a separate church being sponsored for the Negro membership of the Presbyterian Church.

*Congregational Church.*

The more evangelical sects, the Methodists and Baptists played a large role in the religious life of the Negro. The Presbyterian and Congregational Churches never influenced a large segment of the Negro population. Even today only a small group of Negroes can be found in these churches, and this group of Negroes is largely derived from the educational work that these denominations have sponsored in the South.<sup>53</sup>

In 1829, a separate Congregational Church was established for the Negro in New Haven, Connecticut. The church was named the Dixie Avenue Congregational Church of New Haven. This church marks the earliest effort of the Congregational Churches to sponsor a separate church for its Negro constituents. It was not until after the Civil War that the Congregational Church was to grow among the Negro people. An energetic worker, the Rev. G. W. Moore, did much in this later period to spread the work of this Protestant Church among the Negro people.<sup>54</sup>

*C. Slave Revolts.*

The Negro people are by no means lacking in revolutionary tradition. In the period 1800-1831, the Negro people produced characters that would match the best men in the revolutions of other countries; when the mind of the Negro slave was pregnant with ideas and plans which often made their contemporaries shudder.

It is of interest to notice that in periods where there are great schisms within the church, those periods are accompanied by many rebellions. The author thinks that there are marked similarities between the Negro slave revolts which occurred in the period 1800-1830 when there was a social schism within American Protestantism due to caste, and the Peasant revolts which occurred in the period of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>55</sup> The author sees these similarities: 1) Both the Peasant Revolts and the Slave Revolts were protest movements against a feudal economy which was oppressive of the human spirit; 2) The church reaction to the oppression of the Peasant and the slaves was one of compromise with the existing order; 3) The prophets of the "Bundschuh" and those of the Negro slaves appealed to visions secured from the Bible that the time was ripe for the freedom of their people from bondage; 4) The human experience which the people of both races looked to for release from their bondage was the Protestant Church; the words of Luther proclaiming the "Universal Priesthood of all Believers," and the white missionaries proclaiming the words of the Negro, "Go down Moses, way down to Egypt Land, tell Ole Pharaoh, Let my people Go," were both well springs from which to draw water to cool the thirst of those in bondage; 5) The German Peasant and the Negro slave were both released by Civil wars, and the German peasant by the German

Revolution of 1848, and the Negro slave by the Civil War of 1860.

The author thinks that the above illustrations point to the fact that the "Protestant Revolution" is a continuous movement which has yet to reach its peak among the people of both continents. It is in the light of this continuous Revolution in the American Protestant churches that the author sees the Negro slave revolt.

The most prominent of the Negro slave revolts occurred in the period 1800-1831. There were many revolts in the period prior to the ones under discussion. The Slave Revolts in the period 1800-1830 were more carefully planned and executed by their Negro leaders.<sup>56</sup> They involved a larger number of slaves than those slave revolts in an earlier history. The Gabriel Prosser Plot of 1800, the Denmark Vesey Revolt in 1822, and the Nat Turner Revolt in 1831 were led by intelligent Negroes and were carefully planned revolts. The spirit of the times is readily described by a Negro Spiritual. This spiritual is characteristic of the longing for freedom in the breast of the Negro slave.

Oh, freedom, oh freedom;  
 Oh Lord, freedom over me,  
 And before I'd be a slave  
 I'll be buried in my grave  
 An' go home to my God and be free.

There'll be rejoicin'  
 There'll be rejoicin' over me  
 And before I'd be a slave  
 I'll be buried in my grave  
 An' go home to my God and be free.

There'll be shoutin',  
There'll be shoutin' over me  
And before I'd be a slave  
I'll be buried in my grave  
An' go home to my God and be free.

There'll be no groanin'  
There'll be no groanin' over me  
And before I'd be a slave  
I'll be buried in my grave  
An' go home to my God and be free.<sup>57</sup>

The Negro slaves felt that they could accelerate the progress of revolt if the Christian Protestant Church would not come to his aid. This was the same idea which the peasants of Germany had when the "Oak of Saxony," Martin Luther went over to the side of the princes and denied his peasant's birth right.<sup>58</sup> There were many Negroes, however, who denied the actions of the slave revolts and went over to the side of the slave-masters. The author will proceed to describe the prominent slave revolts in the period 1800-1830.

*The Gabriel Prosser Revolt of 1800.* The author has described in an earlier chapter the changes which took place in the slavery system of the South during this period, 1800-1830. It is sufficient to point out here that the domestic relationship which had existed between master and slave had changed to an absentee ownership of the plantation with an overseer acting as master of the slaves. Often the overseer was cruel and severe on the slaves. His primary interest was to see that the slave increased the produce from the land. Ulrich Phillips describes these overseers in this manner: "The tribe of men usually known

as overseers, the cowhide fraternity, are the most faithless and piratical of our population.”<sup>59</sup> The Negro slave was in most cases a witness to the barbaric treatment by the overseers of a slave. Olmstead describes a scene which he witnessed of the cruel treatment of a Negro slave girl:

Somehow the sight of a girl found skulking in a ditch, upon whom the overseer most indecently bestowed fifty or sixty blows, “well laid on as a boat-swain would thrash a skulking sailor or as some people would a balking horse,” turned the stomach of Olmstead; and we can hear her, as he did, writhing, grovelling, and screaming — “Oh, don’t sir! Oh, please stop master! please sir! please sir! Oh, that’s enough, master! Oh, Lord! Oh, master, master! Oh, God, master, do stop! Oh, God, master! Oh, God, master!”<sup>60</sup>

With memories similar to the experience of Olmstead in the mind of the slaves, it is not difficult to understand the slave revolts.

The year 1800 marked the birth of John Brown and Nat Turner.<sup>61</sup> It also marked the year in which Gabriel, a slave of Mr. Prosser of Richmond, Virginia, conspired with Jack Bowler, John Scott, and Sam Bird and his brother, Martin, to secure the release of his kinsman from the yoke of slavery.<sup>62</sup>

Gabriel and his fellow companions held meetings at the house of William Young. At this time Gabriel expounded the Scriptures “to prove that just as the God of the Jews had miraculously delivered them from bondage, so he would strengthen the hands of a few Negroes to overthrow thousands of the whites.”<sup>63</sup>

The plans of Gabriel and the other slaves were revealed by two slaves named Tom and Pharaoh to their master, a Mr. Sheppard, who immediately warned the white citizens and the militia in Richmond. According to the revolt plans, the conspirators were to begin at Mr. Prosser's plantation. After killing the plantation owner and his family, the slaves were to proceed to Richmond, Virginia. Help was to be secured from the Negro slaves from Petersburg, Virginia, the Catawba Indians, and the poor whites of the area who owned no slaves.<sup>64</sup> The Negro slaves were to kill every white man in the area. Only the Methodists and the Quakers were to be spared, "because they were believers in liberty." After the capture of Richmond, Gabriel was to be crowned the "King of Virginia" and was to reign in royal dignity over the land. Indications of how carefully the plans were laid out by the conspirators were noticeable in the slave plans to retreat to the Virginia Mountains in case the revolt failed. The revolt did fail; a terrific rain storm which made the roads impassable, plus the preparedness of the whites in the vicinity, caused the slaves to disperse. Many were captured, including Gabriel, and were hanged for their crime.<sup>65</sup>

Let it be noticed, however, that the slaves based their right to protest by revolt on Scriptural authority which they had learned from the Protestant missionaries. It was specifically stated by the slaves in their plans that Methodists and Quakers were not to be harmed, because "they were believers in liberty." Certainly, the message of the Protestant missionary can be seen in the workings of the Gabriel Prosser revolt in 1800.

*Denmark Vesey's Slave Revolt of 1822.* Denmark Vesey, a former slave of the slave-trader, Captain Vesey,

came to Charleston in the year 1800.<sup>66</sup> In the same year Denmark won the sum of fifteen hundred dollars in the East Bay Street Lottery.<sup>67</sup> Denmark afterward purchased his freedom from Captain Vesey and lived in the city of Charleston as a carpenter.

Denmark was ungovernable in temper and passions; his ambition for leadership among the slaves led him into all types of actions which would bespeak his contempt for the whites. "Indeed he had reached such a pitch of race enmity that he was often heard to declare he would not like to have a white man in his presence."<sup>68</sup> Denmark was distinguished for his physical and intellectual powers and his fame and influence spread among the Negroes throughout the State of Carolina and the West Indies.<sup>69</sup>

Denmark was a great student of the Bible. Like every Protestant of his time, Denmark accepted the Scriptures as being the spoken word of God to men. Denmark, therefore, took every available opportunity to preach to the slaves against the evils of slavery. He preached that the Scriptures were against the evils of slavery, and that the slave should try to emancipate himself by the use of force. God would aid the slaves in their efforts and would bless and be pleased by the efforts of the slave to release himself. Denmark was fascinated by the eschatological imagery of the Old Testament, and secured from its passages some of his favorite texts. An illustration from two of his favorite texts will throw some light upon the relationship of the Scriptures to slave revolts. In Zechariah 14:13;

Behold the day of the Lord cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee. For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city

shall be taken, and women ravished; and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall be cut off from the city. Then shall the Lord go forth, and fight against those nations, as when He fought in the day of battle.

Joshua 6:21;

And they utterly destroyed all that were in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep, and ass with the edge of the sword.

In an earlier section, the author has spoken of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, an independent Negro church movement, extending itself as far as South Carolina. The records connected with the Denmark Vesey revolt show a definite relationship between the two movements. An African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Hamstead,<sup>70</sup> located in the suburbs of Charleston, South Carolina. It was from the members of this church that Denmark Vesey was to secure his most able leaders in the insurrection. Denmark Vesey was a constant preacher in this church and he took every available opportunity to enlist the church leaders in his cause. Bishop Morris Brown<sup>71</sup> of the African Methodist Church was a secret counselor and sympathizer with the plot to revolt. When Gullah Jack approached "Elder" Brown, he said: "If you can get men enough you might try this business but do not mention my name." Because of this active sympathy with the revolt of the slaves, Bishop Morris Brown was removed in fear for his life from the State of South Carolina. Because of the action of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the State of South Carolina

forbade its organization within the state. It was not until after the Civil War that the African Methodist Episcopal Church was allowed to be organized among the Negroes of South Carolina.<sup>72</sup>

For twenty years Denmark Vesey agitated his anti-slavery propaganda among the slaves of Charleston, South Carolina and the nearby vicinity. By 1822, Denmark had gathered an army of men to revolt against the whites of Charleston. From this number he selected Ned and Rolla Bennett, slaves of Governor Bennett, Peter Poyas, Jack Purcell, Gullah Jack, and Monday Gell to be the leaders of the slaves in Charleston. Lot Forrester and Frank Ferguson were to act as the leaders of the slaves on the plantations outside of Charleston.<sup>73</sup> The date for the revolt was set to begin on a Sunday, July 14, 1882. Fear of betrayal was constantly in the minds of the leaders of the revolt. Peter Poyas warns his followers: "Take care and don't mention it to those waiting men who receive presents of old coats, etc., from their masters, or they'll betray us; I will speak to them."<sup>74</sup>

The betrayal of the slaves was not long coming. William Paul divulged the secret of the plans to Devany, a trusted slave of Colonel Prioleau, who immediately warned his master about the slave revolt. Peter Poyas and Mingo Hearth were picked up by the authorities of Charleston and questioned about the rebellion. Peter Poyas and Mingo Hearth were companion leaders of the revolt with Denmark Vesey. These men, however, were able to avoid suspicion of the authorities and were soon released. Warning Denmark Vesey about the betrayal the plans of the revolt were later changed to June 16th. Again, however, the authorities were warned by a slave named William Paul. This time action was taken by the

authorities to protect the citizens of Charleston. Captain Miller's Light Infantry, Captain Martindale's Neck Rangers, the Charleston Riflemen and the City Guard, under the command of Colonel Hayne, gathered the revolt leaders and their followers into the jails of Charleston and tried them before the citizens of that city.<sup>75</sup>

The results of the trial were that Denmark Vesey, Peter Poyas, Ned Bennett, Rolla Bennett, Batteau Bennett, and Jesse Blackwood were hanged on July 2; Gullah Jack and one other slave on July 12th. One hundred and thirty-one Negroes were arrested, thirty-seven executed, forty-three banished, and forty-eight discharged.<sup>76</sup> "Four white men, American, Scottish, Spanish and German, were fined and imprisoned for aiding the Negroes by words of encouragement."<sup>77</sup>

The news of the arrest and death of the Negro revolt leaders spread throughout the State of South Carolina and adjacent states. Many Negro slaves took upon themselves to avenge the death of Denmark Vesey and his companions. The State of Carolina was immediately filled with trouble of slave uprisings against their masters. A typical case of a slave uprising was reported in Beaufort, South Carolina.

In September a guarded report came of the discovery and crushing of a slave plot in Beaufort, South Carolina. The town council was in secret session. Particulars had not transpired. They rarely did. Tighten restrictive laws, get rid of as many free Negroes as possible, keep the slaves ignorant, and your powder dry, hang the leaders, banish others, whip, crop, scourge scores, and above all keep it quiet or, if you must talk, speak of the slaves' contentedness and docility!<sup>78</sup>

Yet, while the white Southerners were content to speak of the Negroes' docility, many slave revolts were happening in its boundaries. Like the Peasant of Germany, the Negro slave had arisen to protest against the cruel hand of his oppressor. The "Protestant Revolution" of Seeböhm was still expressing itself in the lives of men. It is interesting to note a Southerner's reason given for the slave revolts. A Southerner wrote:

We are exposed to still greater perils by swarms of missionaries, white and black, that are perpetually visiting us, who, with sacred volume of God in one hand, breathing peace to the whole family of man, scatter at the same time with the other the firebrands of discord and destruction, and secretly disperse among our Negroes the seeds of discontent and sedition. It is an acknowledged fact that some of these religious itinerants, these apostolic vagabonds, after receiving charities from the philanthropy and open-hearted generosity of our people, have by means of tracts, and other modes of instruction all professedly religious in their character, excited among our Negroes such a spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt, as has in the end brought down upon them the vengeance of offended humanity. And given to the gallows and exile the deluded instigators of a most diabolical and unholy Insurrection.<sup>79</sup>

Here again the revolutionary character of the Protestant faith is noticeable in a small band of traveling preachers who disturbed the conscience of the South. While these preachers silently and under cover of darkness were sowing seeds of the Gospel, the major Protestant denomina-

tions were calling the States' attention to the fact that they were in favor of slavery. The Baptist Convention of South Carolina urged the Governor to appoint a day of thanksgiving for the blessing of God in delivering the State from the Vesey Revolt. "They went further, and assured the Governor that the Baptists regarded slavery as sanctioned by the Bible and proved to be a divine institution by the history of ancient and modern nations."<sup>80</sup>

*The Nat Turner Revolt.* On October 2, 1800, among the slaves of Benjamin Turner, in a neighborhood known as "The Cross Keys" which lies fifteen miles from Jerusalem, the county seat, seventy miles from Norfolk, and about the same number of miles from Richmond, a black boy was born, and was given the name of Nat Turner. On his body he bore strange marks which led the Negroes to believe that he was a prophet, and destined for some great work.<sup>81</sup>

At an early age Nat Turner taught himself to read and write. This factor alone aroused the interest of the slaves who had predicted a great future for the child. Soon, he began to read the Bible and came to possess such an acquaintance with the Scriptures that the Baptist Church, to which both he and his master belonged, allowed him to act as a local preacher of the church. His duties were to look after the spiritual welfare of the slaves. Through reading the Bible, Nat Turner soon had a desire for freedom and ran away from his master. While on his flight, Nat said he heard the spirit of God telling him to return to his master because he was to perform a great work in behalf of his people.

In the year 1825, Nat Turner returned to the plantation of his master. From that date forward he began to share a plan of rebellion with his fellow slaves. Turner felt that he had been divinely led from the foundation of

the world to lead the slaves in this rebellion. Nat Turner through daily reading of the Bible began to see visions which more and more impressed the slaves that he was a "Black Prophet." "He saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle array. The thunder rolled in the heavens, blood flowed in streams, he heard voices saying, 'Such is your luck, such as you called to see, and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bear it.' " And Nat Turner did bear it. On May 28th, Turner heard a voice which said to him, "that the Serpent was loosed, that Christ had laid down the yoke, that he, Nat, was to take it up again, and that the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first."<sup>83</sup> This was the command that Turner had been waiting for. In connection with the voice, an eclipse of the sun in February, 1831, added to his conviction that the time was ripe for a revolt. In August, 1831, Nat Turner and four associates planned a meeting and there together over a roasted pig and a bottle of brandy, arranged plans for the most bloody revolt in the State of Virginia.

Plans included setting up a Negro republic in Virginia when the revolt was successfully completed. This Republic was to be an asylum for runaway slaves and free Negroes. It was to be a place where the slaves could be happy and free. With the plans completed, Turner addressed his men in the language of a general beginning a campaign:

Friends and brothers, we are about to commence a great work tonight! Our race is to be delivered from slavery, and God has appointed us the men to do His bidding; and let us be worthy of our calling. I am told to slay all the whites we encounter, without regard to age or sex.

We have no arms or ammunition, but we will find them in the homes of our oppressors; but it is necessary that in the commencement of the Revolution all whites we meet should die, until we have an army strong enough to carry war on upon a Christian basis. Remember that ours is not a war for robbery, nor to satisfy our passions; it is a struggle for freedom. Ours must be deeds, not words. Then away to the scene of action.<sup>84</sup>

Beginning at the home of his master, Joseph Travis, Turner and his insurgents slew the master and his household. From there, Turner led his men to the neighboring houses where all the whites were killed. In each house where they went, the band forced the slaves to join them and by August 23rd some fifty or sixty persons had been killed. Soon, however, the news was spread abroad that Turner and his band of slaves were in revolt. The crisis came to Nat Turner and his men at the plantation of Dr. Blunt, who had been forewarned about Nat Turner's revolt. Dr. Blunt successfully resisted the men of Nat Turner and put them to flight. The Greenville Cavalry met the Negroes fleeing from the plantation of Dr. Blunt and massacred the whole band, the "Black Prophet" being the only one to escape. Nat Turner went immediately to the old hideout and waited the arrival of his men. After four days of waiting, Nat Turner finally sensed that his men had been captured or killed and gave himself up to a Mr. Phipps. Mr. Phipps became the hero of the hour and received the plaudits of the citizens of Virginia and the Nation at large.

Nat Turner was taken to Jerusalem and there tried for his revolt. In his confessions to Dr. Gray, Nat Turner ad-

mits the plans of revolt and was immediately found guilty and sentenced to be hanged until dead. It is significant to notice the statement of Nat Turner at his trial after his sentence to be hanged. Asked in Court by Gray if he still believed in the providential nature of his mission, he answered, "Was not Christ Crucified?"<sup>85</sup>

After the trial of Nat Turner, armed bands of white men patrolled the countryside killing and beating the slaves unmercifully. Said one old woman:

The patrols were low drunken whites, and in Nat's time, if they heard any of the colored fold prayin' or singin' a hymn, they would fall upon 'em and abuse 'em and sometimes kill 'em . . . The brightest and best were killed in Nat's time.<sup>86</sup>

Thus ends our description of one of the most violent protests which has arisen in American History. The effects of the slave revolts in the South were very severe on the Negro in the South. Slave codes became harsh, the colonization scheme became widely accepted as a solution to the problem of the free Negroes. It is noticeable that at this period a great number of free Negroes were carried from Virginia and colonized in Africa. Yet, while the slave revolts were unsuccessful in the South, the conscience of the North was awakened to the problem of slavery. It was through the Negro protest in revolt that many anti-slavery organizations were formed to free the slave. The revolts were all failures in the short run; but in the end the slave secured a hearing from the conscience of the North that ultimately led to his freedom. "And from the ground there blossoms red, Life that shall endless be."

*D. The Colored Citizens' Protest: Organization and Agitation.*

*The American Convention of Free Colored People in the United States.*

The Negro in the North was mostly everywhere against the American Colonization Society. One of the first organizations to express their opinions about this matter was the "American Colored Men's Convention." A song which was sung to the tune of "Home Sweet Home" well illustrates the opinion of the men of this organization. It was as follows:

Great God, if the humble and weak are as dear to  
Thy love as the proud, to Thy children give ear! Our  
brethren would drive us in deserts to roam; Forgive  
them, O Father, and keep us at home.

Home, sweet home!

We have no other; this, this is our home.<sup>87</sup>

The Negro preacher played an effective role in this organization. Richard Allen, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was a leader in the Convention of Colored Men in America. "Allen appealed to the conscience of America to protect the Negro from being sent away to foreign lands when his labor had helped to build the America to what it was. We have tilled the ground and made fortunes for thousands, and still they are not weary of our services . . . Why should they send us into a far country to die?"<sup>88</sup> The first convention of the "Free Colored People in the United States" was held in Philadelphia in the year 1830. The meeting was held in the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. In connec-

tion with a voice protest against the American Colonization Society, the colored men also made appeals for the runaway slaves who had fled to the North and were suffering for the need of food and clothing. Members of the first convention were: Richard Allen, Cyrus Black, Junius C. Morel, Benjamin Pascal, and James E. Cornish. The Negro independent church movement had again stimulated the protest by the Negro Community against the existing order of slavery and colonization. In the early life of the Negro Community, the Negro's Church stood as a protector for its people.<sup>89</sup>

The names of prominent Negroes are often seen in effective agitation in behalf of the Negro people. John B. Russwurm, editor of the "Freedom's Journal" in New York, and David Walker of Boston, author of "Appeal," made significant contributions to the anti-slavery sentiments of the period 1800-1830. Of the two men, the latter was the most prominent.

David Walker's "Appeal" was perhaps the most widely discussed pamphlet of this period. Walker was bitterly opposed to the institution of slavery, and called upon the Negro to rise up and defend himself against such tyranny. Walker had a philosophy of history which saw God working on the side of the weak in the constant falling and rising of nations. In his "Appeal" which is divided into four sections, Walker discusses: I) "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Slavery." In this first article of the "Appeal" Walker calls attention to the fact that God is a just God who will come to deliver the Negro from bondage. If not, there is no reason to call God just.

I ask O Ye Christians!!! who hold us and our children in the most abject ignorance and degrada-

tion, that ever a people were afflicted with since the world began — I say if God gives you peace and tranquility, and suffers you thus to go on afflicting us and our children, who have never given you the least provocation — would he be a God of Justice?<sup>90</sup>

In Article II, Walker discusses "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of Ignorance." He maintains that only when the Negro realizes his own degradation, would he rise up and with his physical powers overcome the white man. Article III, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Preachers of the Religion of Jesus Christ." Walker protests against the preachers of the Gospel who do not live up to the demands of the Gospel. Even in Boston the preacher's "pride and prejudice have gone to such a pitch, that in the very house erected to the Lord, they have built little places for the reception of the colored people where they must sit during the meetings or keep away from the house of God."<sup>91</sup> Walker ridiculed the actions of such Christians, and declared that they were hypocritical in their actions toward the Negro. In Article IV, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Colonizing Plan," Walker protested against the actions of Henry Clay and his proposal for African Colonization. He asserted, Clay didn't care "a pinch of snuff" about Africa. Walker called upon the citizens of the United States to see behind the colonization interests of Clay as not being friendly to the Negro, but as a plan for forwarding Clay's personal ambitions.<sup>92</sup>

Walker's "Appeal" created a sensation in the South. The Mayor of Savannah, Georgia, wrote to Mayor Otis of Boston, asking that Walker be punished for writing such ideas. Otis replied that while he did not approve of

the pamphlet, Walker would not be punished.<sup>93</sup> Walker's pamphlet was known to the slaves throughout the South, and it is thought that it was his pamphlet which influenced the Nat Turner revolt.<sup>94</sup> Walker's was one of the most outstanding individual protests in the period 1800-1830.

### *E. Summary.*

The development of a caste consciousness in the American Protestant Community led to the founding of the Negro independent church movements and other organizations of separate Negro churches.

The signs of a growing caste consciousness among the whites had become noticeable in the churches in the period 1800-1830. Richard Allen and Negro members of the St. George Methodist Church organized an independent church movement in 1816, and James Varick and Peter Williams organized from the John Street Methodist Church, New York, the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion, an independent church movement among Negroes. Both churches were organized by Negroes in order to maintain a self-respect which had been wounded by the white members of the two churches.

In other instances, separate churches were organized for Negroes and received encouragement from the whites in Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Washington. The Presbyterians, Baptists, and the Methodists organized churches for Negroes on this basis. The Congregational Church organized a separate church for Negroes in New Haven, Connecticut.

In the South the Protestant denominations still included the Negro membership within their churches until after the Civil War. There are reasons for such action.

1) In some cases the white masters took a religious interest in the spiritual welfare of their slaves. 2) In most cases, however, the whites of the South feared any sign of independent religious activity among the Negro slaves because they felt such action would lead to slave revolts.

As we have seen, these fears were well grounded. Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner were all preachers of the "Word of God" and led the slaves in their camp meetings to believe that God had called them to revolt against their white oppressors. The African Methodist Episcopal Church, an independent Negro Church movement, formed the basis for the Denmark Vesey revolt and their Bishop, Morris Brown, gave his spiritual sanction to the ideas of Denmark Vesey. Thus, the slave revolts may well be included as direct results of the social schism taking place in the American Protestant Community. Myrdal, in *An American Dilemma*, makes this statement about the leaders of the slave revolts:

These race martyrs can be said to have laid the foundations, not only for the tradition of Negro Protest, but also because of their regular and conspicuous failure — for the "realistic theory of race relations." This theory is favored by Southern white liberals and is accepted by the great majority of accommodating Southern Negro leaders; it holds that everything which stirs up the resistance of whites will deteriorate the Negroes' status, and that the reforms must be pushed quietly and in such ways that whites hardly notice them before they are accomplished facts sunk into a new status quo.<sup>95</sup>

The author, however, points out that while the slave re-

volts were in themselves failures, nevertheless, they were responsible for the Negro Problem's being brought to the attention of the nation.

Social organizations were founded among the intelligent Negroes of the North to aid the runaway slave, and to protest against the American Colonization Society. In addition, John Russwurm and David Walker led bitter attacks against the American Colonization Society and the institution of slavery. The author would like to point out here, that the social organizations found in the North among the Negroes were often led by Negro preachers of the independent church movement among Negroes. David Walker had a philosophy of history, as evidenced in his "Appeal" that was based on the idea of the Christian's God of Justice.

We now may see the role of the American Protestant Community in providing the Negro with a Christian outlook in which he was able to structure his protest. Yet, at the same time, the Protestant Community was not able to live up to the Christian ideals which it had taught. Consequently the Protestant Community developed a caste structure within the Community which until today had found no adequate solution. The period 1800-1830 has shown a development of a segregated and separated "Negro Community Within American Protestantism."

## CHAPTER VI

## THE PROTESTANT REPLY 1830-1844

*A. General Situation.*

The period 1830-1844 is marked by positive steps by the American Protestant Community to do something about the institution of slavery. No longer were the liberal prophetic voices of the Protestant Community willing to compromise on the evils of slavery. A rising liberal response toward the Negro's protest culminated in the demand for immediate emancipation of the Negro within the American Protestant Community. At last the cries of the Negro in slavery had aroused the conscience of the American Protestant Community to do something definite and concrete about his situation.

The author has tried to emphasize throughout this book that the problems of the Negro cannot be understood apart from the vaster areas of American life. It is well, therefore, that we emphasize this point here. Social reforms in the institution of slavery were accompanied by social reforms in the other areas of American life in the period under discussion. A description of these social reforms may better help the reader to understand the general mood of the period, as well as the place that the reform movements occupy in America's historic life.

The period 1830-1844 is a period of great reform movement in the United States. Merle Curti uses a quotation from the *Dial* better to describe this period.

The triumph of reform is sounding through one world for a revolution of all human affairs . . . Already is the ax laid at the root of the tree, whose spreading trunk is idolatry, whose branches are covetousness, war and slavery, whose blossom is concupiscence, whose fruit is hate. Planted by Beelzebub, it shall be rooted up. Reformers are metallic; they are sharpest steel; they pierce whatsoever of evil or abuse they touch.<sup>1</sup>

William Ellery Channing at the beginning of the decade of the thirties sums up the spirit of the age. He declared: "Every age teaches its own lesson; the lesson of this age is that of sympathy with the suffering, and of devotion to the progress of the whole human race."<sup>2</sup> In the spirit of these words, the New England preacher was describing the inspired efforts of men and women to "reform dress and diet, in the interest of universal health, to uproot capital punishment and imprisonment for debt, slavery, intemperance, war and prostitution, and to agitate for the full rights of women, the human treatment of the insane and the criminal, and even for the overthrow for such venerable institutions as the family, private property, and the state itself."<sup>3</sup>

The faith of the American reformers in the inevitable improvement of man was stimulated by the impact of European ideas. 1) The Age of Enlightenment had emphasized the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This natural philosophy was inculcated in the advocate of social reforms in America. 2) The thought of the Romantics was represented in France by Rousseau, in Germany by Goethe, Schelling, Schlegel, Lessing, et al., in England by Gray, Cowper,

Burns, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Rossetti and Carlyle. These played an important role in the life of American reform movements. Romanticism scorned the colder ideals of reason, and concerned itself with all living things, all spontaneous human feelings. It assumed further, "that all men were born with the same nature and that beneath superficial and outward differences lay 'natural men.'"<sup>4</sup> Such ideas stimulated the social reformers to advocate the relief of the poor and oppressed, and to emphasize the place of man in a human fellowship based on democratic principles. 3) Those Reformers who found little taste for the soft sentiments of Romanticism turned to the teachings of Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians.

Bentham and the Utilitarians provided a criterion for human laws and institutions. The "greatest happiness principle" comes out of this famous school of thought. According to this principle, "actions are good when they promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number and bad when they do not."<sup>5</sup> Bentham insisted "that both morals and law arose because of their supposed utility and without any prior assumptions, and that they were constantly to be tested and revised in the light of changing needs invited and reinforced reform activity quite as effectively as the antithetical assumption that all human laws and institutions must be brought into conformity with an eternal, absolute, inexorable higher law, the law of nature and of God."<sup>6</sup> Utilitarianism was to exert its influence on American social thought. 4) Reformers drew much strength from the revival of the idea of progress. "It was a French Army officer, a descendant of Charlemagne and a soldier under Washington, that summed up the early concept of progress which had been so potent in the early

days of the young republic. That officer was Count de Saint-Simon, who aided the cause of the Americans in the War for Independence, because he was interested in its objective. While in America he gained a glimpse of an order of things in which the humblest should be freed from the galling chains of poverty and disease. Simon reinterpreted the theories of Condorcet and the early American republicans, and in 1815, announced the "coming perfection of the social order." Saint-Simon believed that the goal of human development is social happiness. The first step towards the attainment of this goal is the amelioration of the lot of the working class. This step would demand the reorganization of society on the principle of socialism.<sup>7</sup> Robert Owen and Charles Fournier reached similar conclusions by other routes, but Saint-Simon was the first to furnish the dynamic drive for the economic dogma.<sup>8</sup> Saint-Simon was to find many disciples in the period 1830-1844.

5) The thesis of evolution was the fifth pattern of ideas derived from Europe in the age of Jackson and Lincoln. Evolution applied not only to society but to all living forms. While the author is mainly concerned with the age of Jackson, he thinks it would be a grave error not to mention the fact that the crowning popularization of the doctrine of evolution came in 1859 with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species*. Buffon on the eve of the French Revolution suggested the mutability of species; Lamarck, professor of natural history at the Paris Botanical Gardens, had worked on the problem before losing his health. Lyell, in 1833, completed his epoch-making treatise on geology showing the story of the earth, striking a blow at the traditional cosmogeny. As a result of the works of these men Darwin was able to publish the *Origin*

of the *Species* which shook not only the traditional views of science, but also the Biblical emphases on the story of the creation of man. The evolution of the earth and man were explained from natural causes, the struggle for existence, survival of the fittest, adaption to environment rather than by any divine interposition. The doctrine of evolution caused many conflicts in the American social mind of this period and even now causes no little disturbance.<sup>9</sup>

The social opinions which originated from Europe helped to deflect American thought into novel channels. The author has tried to indicate what these opinions were in order that the social reforms in America may be seen in their proper perspective.

#### *B. Specific American Reforms.*

In the period beginning with 1830, a faith in the common man was changing the scene of America. An inevitable conflict between the property and non-property owning classes which had been submerged, now had arisen into open conflict. The coming to power of the Jacksonian Democrats made the issue quite clear in the minds of men that democracy was not democracy literally, but a real clash between the rich and poor, not a symbol of class conflict. George Bancroft, in an oration delivered at Williams College in 1835, expresses the sentiments of the age:

There is a spirit in man: not in the privileged few: not in those of us who by the favor of Providence have been nursed in public schools: it is in man: it is the attribute of the race. The spirit which is the guide to truth, is a gracious gift to each member of the human family.

If reason is a universal faculty, the universal decision is the nearest criterion of truth. The common mind windows opinions; it is the sieve which separates error from certainty.

If with us the arts are destined to a brilliant career, the inspiration of the people. Genius will not create, to flatter patrons or to decorate saloons. It yearns for larger influences; it feeds on wider sympathies. The public happiness is the true object of legislation, and can be secured only by the masses of mankind themselves awakening to the knowledge and care of their own interest. Our free institutions have reversed the false and ignoble distinctions between men; and refusing to gratify the pride of caste, have acknowledged the common mind to be the true material for a commonwealth.

The exact measure of the progress of civilization is the degree in which the intelligence of the common mind has prevailed over wealth and brute force; in other words, the measure of the progress of civilization is the progress of the people.<sup>10</sup>

Bancroft's *History of the United States*, is called a history of the evolution of freedom in America. Encouraged to run for office in the Jacksonian regime, Bancroft has left in his campaign speeches a perspicacious piece of social philosophy:

To assert the rights of labor is the mission of the age. Each interest that has won its rights finds its best friends in Democracy . . .

Farmers are the true material for a republic, capable of receiving a good impression, an elegant stamp,

the true marble, fit to be wrought into the likeness of a God. The upright yeomanry is the material; liberty is the soul.

Rewards of labor. Should have the products of labor. He who labors much should have much and the reverse. The merchant does not produce; he does but exchange. Hence the city lives on the labor of the manufacturer and the farmer.

The farmers achieved the Revolution aided by mechanics. The furtherance of our liberty rests on the mechanics. The people is the sovereign. The man of letters his councillor. That is, in this country the educated men are privy council to the sovereign.<sup>11</sup>

The democratic faith of Bancroft lifted the hopes of the common man, and inspired the nation of the great mission which it must perform in the world. It was against the democratic background of mid-nineteenth century America, that the reformers set about their task to better the state of man.<sup>12</sup>

*Educational Reforms.* Two of the most outstanding reformers of middle period America were Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. It was in the field of education that the ideas of human thought and feeling lifted the hopes of the common man. Horace Mann in his commencement oration achieved the climax of this liberal democratic thought. Mann in "The Progressive Character of the Human Race,"<sup>13</sup> visioned the day when education should lift human society to a lofty position, when philanthropy should comfort the wants and woes of the race, when free institutions, guaranteed by popular schools should abolish oppression. The enthusiastic orator committed himself unreservedly to the humanitarian movement which was in

motion in New England. From 1837-1848, Mann served as the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and introduced a thorough reform into the school systems of that state. Mann was also interested in the suppression of lotteries and intemperance. But it was for his educational reforms that he is to be remembered. John Dewey says of Mann:

Mann stood for letting the democratic spirit in all its ethical significance, into the common elementary schools, and for such a complete reorganization of these schools as would make them the most serviceable possible instruments of human development.<sup>14</sup>

The humanitarian sentiments of Horace Mann forced him to become interested in the problem of slavery. In spite of what he thought education could do to solve the problem, he left his position on the Massachusetts Board of Education and fought slavery on the political front in Washington. He too realized that before a man could be educated he "must be a free man." <sup>15</sup>

Henry Barnard of Hartford, Connecticut, followed the humanitarian views of Horace Mann to some extent. As a Whig member of the Connecticut legislature in 1831, Barnard sponsored legislation to relieve the condition of the blind, deaf, insane, inmates of prisons, and degraded paupers. Barnard, however, is better known for his educational reforms in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the extension of tax supported schools for the masses.<sup>16</sup> Barnard, unlike Mann, supported the American Colonization Society as a solution toward the elimination of slavery in America.

New England and New York led in the education of its

citizens in the years 1830-1844. Pennsylvania and the states beyond the Alleghany Mountains made little or no provisions for the education of their citizens. The religious schools continued to form the basis for the educational life of the period. In the South the ruling planter class had opportunity for education but the poor whites and the Negro had none outside of that which was given by the Christian missionaries. A remarkable school of this period was Oberlin College which was a co-racial school, founded in 1833 by a group of liberal Congregationalists.<sup>17</sup> One can be saved from an impression of an educational chaos existing during this period if he keeps in mind that the young nation was just beginning to have opportunity to reach out after knowledge. Before 1830 homes had to be built, streams crossed, and the wilderness conquered. These problems often stood in the way of a thirst for knowledge. Yet, the scheme of public education was developing and soon was to spread over the length and breadth of the land.

*Social Reforms.* Imbued with the humanitarian sentiments of the period and with faith in the destiny of the common man many social reformers moved out into the vast areas of American life to help the blind, the imprisoned, the drunkards, and the social outcasts. Gridley Howe founded in 1832 the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1843, he successfully reopened the world to Laura Bridgman, who was blind, deaf and dumb.<sup>18</sup> Dorothea Dix, another reformer of this period, became interested in the treatment of paupers and prison inmates, and as a result a Lunatic hospital was founded in Boston in 1838, and also the Butler Asylum at Providence, Rhode Island. Dorothea Dix carried her ideas of prison reform to the states and the nation and re-

ceived gifts from the wealthy. It was largely through her efforts that imprisonment for debts nearly disappeared.<sup>19</sup> Reformers advocating temperance busied themselves throughout the nation pleading their cause. The period 1830-1844 was filled with severe drinking habits, even the clergy were not immune. The calendar holiday of New Year's often witnessed the greatest amount of intoxication among the people of the United States. In 1833, a Convention was held in Philadelphia; twenty-one states organized to form the "States Temperance Union," later organized to include Canada, and called the "American Temperance Union." In 1842, "the Sons of Temperance" formed in Teetotalers' Hall, New York City. The environment was filled with Scriptural vindication for the use of unfermented wine at the Communion. Dr. Eliphate argued that it was all right to use the unfermented wine at the Communion. Edward Delavan argued in behalf of total abstinence. The latter won the debate. By 1840, the temperance movement was well under way and played an important role in the creation of the consciousness of soberness among the young nation.<sup>20</sup>

Reformers also strove to aid the cause of the laboring man. There was an increasing demand that the working day be reduced from a twelve hour day to a ten hour day. From 1828 to 1832, the laboring man sought reform through political organizations. From 1832-1836, the laboring man organized strikes and labor unions to plead his cause. Henry Evans and Horace Greeley became great champions of the cause of labor. Evans published at New York *The Working Man Advocate*; Horace Greeley was editor of the *New York Tribune*. Both were in sympathy with the cause of labor.<sup>20</sup> By 1836, there were 300,000 members in the labor movement in the United States. In

1843, President Van Buren granted a ten hour week day to all governmental employees which was accepted as a precedent in Massachusetts and other Northern states. In 1843, Massachusetts passed a law forbidding the employment of children under twelve years of age, which showed an awakening of the nation to the problem of child labor.

In 1828, The American Peace Society was founded and early took a stand on war. This organization was interested in the establishment of a higher court for the arbitration of international disputes and controversies. In 1835, the Massachusetts legislature endorsed the plan, but the nation was slow to understand the implication of such ideas. The American Peace Society reached its peak of interests in 1843, when it participated in a World Peace Congress in London.<sup>21</sup> Here again the social reformer steps out ahead of the age to seek eternal peace in the fellowship of nations.

The reformer did not always suggest practicable methods to raise the level of the common man. There were those reformers both religious and social, who advocated isolated social Utopias to lift the state of the common man. Here is another indication of the influence of European ideas on the period. The author has reserved the discussion of the religious Utopias for a later section. A consideration of the secular Utopias follows.

With the expansion of the west and the conflicts between labor and capital in the Northern industrial cities there was a desire of the social reformer to find "societas perfectas" where mankind could live in harmony with his fellow man and where the fruits of labor would be divided, and where the ills which resulted from the ruthless competitive industrial society would come to an end. Albert Brisbane interested himself in such problems and

studied in Europe under the social Utopian minded Fourier. Brisbane brought the Fourieristic ideas back to Americans and in his *Social Destiny of Man* proclaimed to the American mind the working of a new social order. Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* became an earnest disciple of his new ideas and in the editorial section of the paper called attention to the class warfare which was existing in America. The suggested cure for industrial conflicts by Greeley was the organization of a social order into "Associations."<sup>22</sup> Greeley has not left the historian in doubt by what he meant by "Association."

By Association I mean a social order which shall take the place of the present township, to be composed of some hundreds or some thousands of persons, who shall be united together in interest and industry for the purpose of securing to each individual the following things: 1) an elegant and commodious house; 2) an education, complete and thorough; 3) a secure subsistence; 4) opportunity to labor; 5) fair wages; 6) agreeable social relations; 7) progress in knowledge and skill. As society is at present organized, they are the portions of a very small minority. But by association of capital and industry they might become the lot of all; in as much as association tends to economy in all departments, economy in lands, fences, fuel, household labor, tools, education, medicine, legal advice, and commercial exchanges."<sup>23</sup>

It is interesting to note Greeley's definition of slavery. "I understand by slavery to mean, that condition in which one human being exists mainly for the convenience of other human beings."<sup>24</sup> Greeley contended therefore

that there was a definite relationship between slavery found in New York and slavery in New Orleans.

Greeley was not alone in his views of a capitalistic society. Parke Godwin of the *New York Post*, George Ripley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, John S. Dwight, poet and music lover, and William Ellery Channing were in sympathy with Greeley's idea of an "Association."<sup>25</sup> On April 4th, 1844, a National Convention was called to solidify several of these associations which had been organized in the East and Middle West. Albert Brisbane was made president, and an official organ, the *Phalanx*, was founded.<sup>26</sup>

Outstanding movements among the Social Utopians were such communities as the Brook Farm, Fruitlands, North American Phalanx, the Northampton Association, and the Positive Village of Modern Times, Long Island. These communities tried to change the social order and solve the problems of labor and capital. While these communities were Utopian in out-look they were less socially isolated than the Utopian communities along the frontier. Notably, the New Harmony, and Yellow Springs communities of Robert Owen; the agriculture community of John A. Collins in Skaneateles, New York, and the slave community of Francis Wright in Tennessee. The author is not concerned with presenting a history of these movements. Our interest here is to point to the rise of a social consciousness among the citizens of the United States in the period, 1830-1844.

The wave of reforms which is so evident in the history of the nation of this period is not without significance within the church. The author does not propose to separate the secular and the sacred because their social contribution to society overlap one another. The author

agrees in spirit with Joachim Wach in his definition of the Sociology of Religion.

By defining "sociology of religion" as the study of the interrelation of religion and society, we assume that religious impulses, ideas, and institutions influence, and, in turn, are influenced by social forces, social organization, and stratification.<sup>27</sup>

While the author agrees in spirit with the definition of the sociology of religion, our approach is quite different. It is our purpose here to show from historical data that the role of religion had an ascertainable influence upon the American society of 1830-1844.

William Warren Sweet has most adequately called this period of our American history "Religion in the Restless Thirties and Forties."<sup>28</sup> Religion in America is characterized by great revivals, reformations within the denominations, as well as schisms over slavery. This book is primarily concerned with the role of liberal Protestantism in its effect upon the problem of slavery. Yet it is wise to describe the democratizing influences within the religious community.

In an earlier section the author has spoken of the efforts of men to build "perfect societies," away from the turmoils of industrial pains and human selfishness. It was in the light of a democratic spirit based on a Christian ethics that the German immigrants formed the colony of New Harmony, Indiana; Zoar, Ohio, and the Community of True Inspiration of Amana, Iowa. Similar societies of communal life were formed by the immigrants from the Old World in the settlements of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina. An emphasis of missionary

activity to the Indians was characterized by organizing several "Christian Villages" among the Indians and whites whose economy formed an integral part of the general economy of the fraternal union.<sup>29</sup>

Outstanding among these communal faiths were the "Seventh Day Adventists." William Miller, the founder of this sect, began preaching in the year 1833, the gospel of the second coming of Christ. In 1843, he predicted to his followers as the year for the second coming of the Lord. On March 21, 1843, the followers of Miller were warned by him that the Lord was coming to bring his children home. On the fatal day the Lord failed to return, but Miller insisted that the year 1844 would bring the Lord's return. October 22nd of that year was set for the Lord's return. The day passed again without the Lord's return. While this event did not wreck the faith of Miller, a number of his followers began to doubt the reality of his cause. The intense excitement over the movement by the peoples of the world gradually subsided. The movement itself, however, had deep social roots. It signified a spirit of the time. Many reformers went to the forefront for causes because they were possessed with the notion that the end of time was near and that there was opportunity to see the oppressor found out and punished. It is also wise to remember that such meetings as experienced by the Seventh Day Adventists in expectation for the return of the Lord often provided occasion for communal living.<sup>30</sup>

Another religious community of democratic interests was the community of perfectionists at Oneida, New York. John Humphrey Noyes, a product of the Finney revivals, first organized a community at Putney, Vermont, in 1845. It was not long tolerated by the citizens and the colony

was forced to move to Oneida, New York. The members of this community were supposed to prove to the world that they were above the selfishness of the world. Hence they shared all things in common. The community was saved in a few years from being completely dissolved because of the economic manufacturing of bear traps. As an experiment in holy living the community was a failure.<sup>31</sup> As an experiment in holy living, it is of interest to the historian of social movements as indicative of the democratic spirit which was in action within American Protestantism.

The most successful of these democratic movements which began in the period under discussion was that of the Mormons. It began with Joseph Smith "translating" a new Bible, The Book of Mormon. This book told the story of the settlement of America of the "Lost Tribe of Israel" the "Jaredites." This tribe destroyed one another, and was later replaced by the "Lamanites," a warlike people, the American Indian, and the "Nephites," or God chosen people, who had been formerly members of a company of Jerusalem which had settled on the coast of Chile. The "Nephites" fell away from the true faith, and were destroyed in 384 AD. Only Mormon and his son, Moroni escaped the destruction. Smith immediately claimed that the new Book which he had discovered was the book which Moroni collected about the record and life of his people. Smith, the true prophet, had at last discovered the records and began the birth of a new democratic spirit in American Protestantism.

The first church was founded in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, in 1830. From this period on the Mormons began a movement of missionary efforts which brought many followers into the new fold. The most dynamic of

the leaders was Brigham Young, who led the Mormons from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the now famous Salt Lake City.<sup>32</sup> The author points again to the emphasis of social living among the Mormon Christian. Here again we see the strong desire of the human race for freedom of self expression and independence being assimilated with the spirit of religion.

The Disciples of Christ founded in 1829 by Alexander Campbell, marks a more moderate attempt at frontier democracy. "He urged a strict congregational, democratic church government without centralized boards or missionary activity."<sup>33</sup> Campbell also repudiated a non-spiritualizing clergy, as well as creeds, organs and music. His movement is a naked protest against the church of the inherited, and a symbol of the democratic life in the frontier churches.

William Warren Sweet points to democratizing influences of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists along the frontier.<sup>34</sup> These movements in the religious life of America are in keeping with the democratizing influences shown in the secular life of America.

In the course of democratic thought there is a tendency for liberal theology to be liberal in social outlook, and fundamentalism in theology to be conservative in social outlook. The author recognizes that this proposition does not hold true in all historical situations. Nevertheless, the statement may be applied to the period under discussion. The author will point to two movements which generally illustrate this proposition, the Finney Revivals, and the Unitarian Transcendentalist movements in the East.

Gilbert Barnes has most adequately treated the relationship of the Finney Revival to social reforms.<sup>35</sup> It is only for emphasis that we mention this work in connection with this book.

Charles Grandison Finney was one of the most powerful personalities of his day. His preaching ability was unusually persuasive. Finney revivals were possessed with great religious excitement, women, men and children, succumbed to the appeal made by this powerful preacher. Finney's revivals were successful because of his emphasis on a new theology which gave the sinner a relief from a conservative Calvinism. Barnes has summed up Finney's new theology and contrasted it with Calvinism.

Orthodox Calvinism had made salvation the end of all human desire and fear of hell the spur to belief; whereas Finney made salvation the beginning of religious experience instead of its end. The emotional impulse which Calvinism had concentrated upon a painful quest for a safe escape from life, Finney thus turned toward benevolent activity. Converts he declared, did not escape life; they began a new life in the interests of God's Kingdom. In this new life they have no separate interests . . . They should set out with a determination to aim at being useful in the highest degree possible.<sup>36</sup>

Barnes in describing Finney's concept of sin says:

To him original sin was not some constitutional depravity which lies back of and is the cause of actual transgression: it was simply a deep-seated but voluntary . . . self-interest . . . All consists in selfishness; and all holiness or virtue, in disinterested benevolence.<sup>37</sup>

Summing up the relationship of Finney's revival to social reform Barnes says: "Among Finney's converts this gospel released a mighty impulse toward social reform."<sup>38</sup> It was a credit to this new revival that most of the names which sparked the abolitionary movement in America in the period 1830-1844 were converts who came directly or indirectly out of the Finney revival.<sup>39</sup>

A second movement which indicated a change in American theology toward social reform was the emphasis coming out of the Unitarian Churches. William Ellery Channing, the great spokesman for social movements, a friend of the slaves, changed the whole outlook of the Unitarian theology. In an earlier section, the author has indicated the beginnings of Unitarianism in America. In its early stages Unitarianism insisted upon its denial of the divinity of Christ, and of salvation by grace. Channing emphasized and spiritualized the positive teachings of the Unitarian insistence on the merits of good works. From his pulpit flowed a sympathy of thought which united the forces of religion with humanitarian reforms.<sup>40</sup> The author will speak of Channing later in connection with the abolitionists.

While Channing was preaching social reforms in Boston, Horace Bushnell was preaching a liberalizing gospel in Hartford, Connecticut. Bushnell emphasized the worth of all religions in having something special and choice, and attempted to lead his congregation to the idea of their appreciation. Bushnell preached that it was a great fallacy for people to have a glimpse of truth and think at the same time that they have the whole. Bushnell's ideas clearly indicated a growing sympathetic appreciation and tolerance in Calvinistic thought which had a spirit of equality.<sup>41</sup>

A contemporary movement with democratizing influences was the Transcendentalist Movement of New England whose leading exponent was Ralph W. Emerson. Emerson emphasized the fact that man was born with a spark of the divine instead of sin, and raised the level of human achievement to the skies. Frothingham says of the Transcendental Movement: "practically, it was an assertion of the inalienable worth of man, theoretically it was an assertion of the immanence of divinity in instinct, the transferring of supernatural attributes to the natural constitution of mankind."<sup>42</sup>

Theodore Parker, the embodiment and epitome of the New England renaissance, a friend of the slave, was also influential in the change of the New England mind toward social reforms. Parker like Emerson was a Transcendentalist and one of the most brilliant men of his day. Parker asserted the doctrine of human perfectibility and gave it logical foundation when Darwin wrote his *Origin of the Species*. Defining his doctrine of human perfectibility, Parker says:

But this progressive development does not end with us; we have seen only the beginning, the triumphs of the race must be vastly greater than all accomplished yet. In the primal instincts and automatic desires of man, I have found a prophecy that what he wants is possible, and shall one day be actual . . . What good is not with us is before, to be attained by toil and thought, and religious life.<sup>43</sup>

Here again the historian sees signs of a developing spirit of social consciousness that emanated from the liberal Transcendental Movement in New England.

The author's main purpose in the above illustrations is to show the difference in ideas of the America in 1800-1830, and that of the America of 1830-1840. There is a decided change in social ideas of the small liberal minority within the state and church. It is noticeable that suggestions for social reforms are largely in the West and East. Again it is also clear that the author has not mentioned the larger denominational life within Protestantism. A consideration of the main body of the American Protestant Community's reply to the question raised in an earlier period, "What shall we do with the Negro?" is now in order.

*C. The American Protestant Community and the Negro.*

The author will examine evidence in the Baptist, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Congregational and the Methodist denominations as they relate to the Negro Community. In the year 1840, there were 2,700,000 slaves and 400,000 free Negroes in America. Of the slaves 80,000 were members of the Methodist church; 80,000 of the Baptist; and 40,000 of the other denominations.<sup>44</sup> The author purposely excludes an examination of the Quakers because of the small number of Negroes included in their denomination, as well as the accepted fact that slave-owners by this time had been excluded from the Quaker fellowship. The Negro problem affected those denominations in which they were numerous. For a clear appraisal of the Negro's status in the American Protestant Community an examination of the major denominations must be made.

*The Baptist Church.* The Charleston Association addressed a memorial to the legislature of South Carolina in 1835, which contained the following sentiments:

The undersigned would further represent, that the said association does not consider that the holy scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all. The Divine Author of our holy religion, in particular, found slavery a part of the existing institutions of society; with which, if not sinful, it was not his design to intermeddle, but to leave them entirely to the control of men. Adopting this, therefore, as one of the allowed arrangements of society, he made it the province of his religion only to prescribe the reciprocal duties of the relation. The question, it is believed, is purely one of political economy. It amounts, in effect, to this. Whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold, and themselves become property, as in this state; or whether they shall be hirelings, and their labour only become property, as in some other state; In other words, whether an employer may buy the whole time of labourers at once, of those who have a right to dispose it, with a permanent relation of protection and care over them, or, whether he shall be restricted to buy it in certain portions only, subject to their control, and with no such permanent relation of care and protection. The right of the master to dispose of the time of his slaves has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things, who is surely at liberty to vest the right of property over any subject in whomsoever he pleases. That the lawful possessor should retain this right at will, is no more against the laws of society and good morals than that he should retain the personal endowment with which his Creator has blessed him, or the money and lands inherited from his ancestors, or acquired by his industry.

And neither society, nor individuals, have any more authority to demand a relinquishment without an equivalent, in one case, than in the other.

As it is a question purely of political economy, and one which in this country is reserved to the cognizance of the State Governments severally, it is further believed, that the state of South Carolina alone has the right to regulate the existence and condition of slavery within her territorial limits; and we should resist to the uttermost every invasion of this right, come from what quarter and under whatever pretence it may.<sup>45</sup>

The position taken here by the Baptists of South Carolina represents the general attitude of the Baptists toward the Negro. The Baptists recognized a strong difference in the responsibility of state and church. As indicated in the illustration above, the Baptists clearly place the responsibility for slavery in the hands of the state, it is a civil problem not a religious one. Yet, at the same time, it is noticeable that the Baptists placed divine sanction on the institution of slavery as being clearly established in the Scriptures.. Rev. R. Furman of South Carolina, in a statement clearly indicates the Baptist position. "The right of holding slaves is clearly established in the Holy Scriptures both by precept and example."<sup>46</sup> The Baptists in Massachusetts were careful not to go against the grain of slavery. Rev. Lucius Bolles, D.D., of Massachusetts, corresponding secretary of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, made this statement, "There is a pleasing degree of union among the multiplying thousands of Baptists throughout the land. Our southern brethren are generally, both ministers and people, slaveholders."<sup>47</sup>

The evidence presented clearly makes the position of the Baptists largely pro-slavery in this period; especially the Baptists in the South, where the Negro membership was very large.

The Presbyterians differed in sentiments toward the Negro. The Charleston Union Presbyterians in South Carolina shows similar views to that of the Baptists in the same state:

It is a principle which meets the views of this body, that slavery, as it exists among us, is a political institution, with which ecclesiastical judicatories have not the smallest right to interfere; and in relation to which, any such interference, especially at the present momentous crisis, would be morally wrong, and fraught with the most dangerous and pernicious consequences. The sentiments which we maintain in common, as Christians of every denomination in the South are sentiments which so fully approve themselves to our consciences, are so indented with our solemn convictions of duty, that we should maintain them under any circumstances.

Resolved: That in the opinion of the Presbytery, the holding of slaves so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is no where condemned in his holy word — that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, apostles, and that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge; and that, therefore, they who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion, that all slave-holding is wrong, proceed upon false principles.<sup>48</sup>

The Hopewell Presbytery of South Carolina, Harmony Carolina and Georgia passed resolutions which carried the same sentiments as that of the Charleston Union Presbytery as quoted by the author.<sup>49</sup> The Southern Presbyterian associations held to the principle that slavery was a political institution and with it (meaning slavery) the church had no right to interfere. The Presbyterians buttressed their arguments that the Bible nowhere refutes slavery as being contrary to the moral law.

In an earlier chapter, the author has reviewed some of the views held by the General Assembly in 1818, in which slavery is called "a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature." In reality, however, the Presbyterian church was slow to put such beliefs in practice. In 1835, a Mr. Stewart of Illinois called upon the General Assembly to do something about slavery:

I hope this Assembly are prepared to come out fully and declare their sentiments, that slave-holding is a most flagrant, and heinous Sin. Let us not pass it by in this indirect way, while so many thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow creatures are writhing under the lash, often inflicted, too, by ministers and elders of the Presbyterian church.<sup>50</sup>

In the General Assembly of 1836 nothing was done about the problem of slavery in the church. In fact, the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., and Theological professor, chairman of the majority committee on slavery, gives us a report on this session as follows:

That after the most mature deliberation which have been able to bestow on the interesting and im-

portant question referred to them, they would most respectfully recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of the following preamble, and resolution.

Whereas, the subject of slavery is inseparably connected with the laws of many of the states in this Union, with which it is by no means proper for an ecclesiastical judicatory to interfere, and involves many considerations in regard to which great diversity of opinion and intensity of feeling are known to exist in the churches represented in this Assembly: And whereas, there is great reason to believe that any action on the part of this Assembly in reference to this subject would tend to distract and divide our churches, and would probably, in nowise promote the benefit of those whose welfare is immediately contemplated in the memorials in question.

Therefore, Resolved,—

1. That it is not expedient for the Assembly to take any further order in relation to this subject.

2. That as the notes which have been expunged from our public formularies, and which some of the memorials referred to the committee request to have restored, were introduced irregularly — never had the sanction of the church — and therefore, never possessed any authority the General Assembly has no power, nor would they think it expedient to assign them a place in the authorized standards of the church.<sup>51</sup>

The Minority Committee, led by the Reverends Messrs. Dickey and Beman, reported the following resolution:—

1. That the buying, selling, or holding a human being as property, is in the sight of God a heinous sin, and ought to subject the doer of it to the censures of the church.

2. That it is the duty of every one, especially of every Christian, who may be involved in this sin, to free himself from its entanglement without delay.

3. That it is the duty of every one, especially of every Christian, in meekness and firmness of the Gospel to plead the cause of the poor and needy by testifying against the principle and practice of slaveholding; and to use his best endeavors to deliver the church of God from the evil; and to bring about the emancipation of the slaves in these United States, and throughout the world.<sup>52</sup>

The above opinions show that there was a diversity of opinion among the Presbyterians in the General Assembly of 1836. The majority report was still conservative on the issue of slavery — separation of civil and ecclesiastical responsibility was still maintained. Slavery was a civil issue and not an ecclesiastical issue. It is good to notice that in the minority report a liberal conviction of the evil of slavery was evident. And it pointed to the moral responsibility of the church and its members to rid themselves of the evil and then to take such action to emancipate slavery in the United States and the rest of the world.

In 1837, many anti-slavery memorials were presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. They were referred to a committee of which Dr. Witherspoon, a slave owner, was chairman. The memorials received no action and at the end of the assembly it was voted to lay the whole issue on the table.<sup>53</sup>

In 1838, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church separated over the matter of doctrine, and divided into the Old and New School. In the Old School, nothing was done on the problem of slavery. In 1843, they laid the anti-slavery memorials on the table without reading.<sup>54</sup>

In 1838, the New School took no action on the problem of slavery. In 1839, it laid the responsibility of the whole subject to the Presbyteries to do what they might deem advisable. In 1840, the New School took a similar stand on the problem of slavery saying "it is inexpedient for the Assembly to do anything further on the subject." The New School took no effective action on the problem of slavery within the church during this period. In 1850, the two schools within Presbyterianism united again, and the issue of slavery in the church was tabled in order not to bring more schisms within the church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, though very small in membership, had some interesting problems develop over the problem of slavery. The church, apparently, was desirous of keeping clear of all connection with the anti-slavery cause. John Jay reprimanded the church for its hypocrisy and cruelty toward the Negro.<sup>55</sup>

The attitude of the Protestant Episcopal General Theological Seminary in New York City in admitting a Negro preacher for training is of interest at this point. Alexander Crummel, a Negro from New York, applied for admission to the General Theological Seminary in 1839. The faculty put him off by referring him to the board of trustees. In the meantime, Bishop F. Onderdonk of New York asked Crummel to withdraw his application for admission, by assuring him "that the members of the faculty of the seminary were willing to impart to him private

instruction in their respective departments; and more evil than benefit would result, both to the church and to himself, by a formal application in his behalf for admission into the seminary."<sup>56</sup> Mr. Curmmel, at the advice of the good bishop, withdrew his application and went to Andover Newton Seminary, a Congregational institution, to prepare himself for the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Thus ends one of the most interesting problems in the church of this period. There is enough information on this subject to furnish material for future investigation. The author, for the purpose here, is interested in the subject as it relates to the attitude of the Protestant Episcopal Church toward the Negro.

The Rev. Peter Williams, Jr., son of the Peter Williams whom we have discussed earlier in connection with the John Street Church, New York City, was a rector in the Episcopal Church of the same city. In 1834, Peter Williams, Jr., served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society. The Bishop of the diocese, Rev. Benjamin F. Onderdonk, required Mr. Williams to relinquish his place on the committee, to which request Mr. Williams thought it his duty to conform. Here again is some indication of the Protestant Episcopal Church's attitude toward the Anti-Slavery Society. The two cases of Mr. Crummel and Rev. Williams, Jr., suggest that the Protestant Episcopal Church did not want the Negro to gain any respect as leader among his people, to the white leadership in the church.

The Congregational Church was largely confined to New England and thus was not troubled to any great extent with the problem of slavery. However, the General Association of Congregational Ministers in Connecticut did define their position in respect to the Negro. At Vernon in 1834, they said:

Resolved, That to buy and sell human beings, or to hold and treat them as merchandise, or to treat servants, free or bond, in any way inconsistent with the fact that they are intelligent and voluntary beings, made in the image of God, is a violation of the principles of the word of God, and should be treated by all churches of our Lord Jesus Christ as an immorality, inconsistent with a profession of the Christian religion.<sup>57</sup>

Again in New Haven in 1840, the Connecticut Association said:

Resolved, that American slavery is, in the opinion of this body, inconsistent with the principles of the Gospel, and its immediate abolition by those who have the legal power is a duty in the discharge of which the blessing of heaven may be expected.

Resolved, That we recommend to the churches under our care, a prayerful consideration of this important subject, and the exertion of their appropriate influence for the emancipation of all the enslaved throughout this land and throughout the world.<sup>58</sup>

It is to be admitted that on first observation of the attitude of the Connecticut Association toward slavery one is convinced that the church took a firm stand against the system. Yet, on a closer observation we find nothing is said among members holding slaves about steps to be taken by the church in controlling slavery among its own group.

It is to the Methodist that we look for a frank facing of the problem of slavery within its associational life.

In 1836, the General Conference of the Methodist

Church met in May in Cincinnati, a town of 48,000 inhabitants, in the heart of the free state of Ohio, and passed these recommendations on slavery:

1. Resolved, By the delegates of the Annual Conference and General Conference assembled, that they disapprove in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of the two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently, upon and in favour of modern abolitionism.

2. By the delegates of the Annual Conference in the General Conference — assembled — that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention, to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slave-holding states of this Union.<sup>59</sup>

The Methodist at this time shows evidence of being disturbed by the abolitionist movement which was sweeping the west and east in full force by 1836. In fact, Orange Scott and the members of the New England Conference had founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society in Lynn, Massachusetts.<sup>60</sup> In connection with this society, two Methodist papers had been published which were in sympathy with the abolitionist cause. These papers were the *Zion's Watchman* edited by Rev. La Roy Sunderland in New York City, and the *Zion's Herald*, edited by Abe Stevens in Boston, Massachusetts. Both editors waged a terrific war with the pen against slavery in the Methodist Church. Orange Scott was a regular contributor to the *Zion's Herald*, and helped to sway New England into the abolitionist cause.<sup>61</sup> Orange Scott provides us with

information as to what the abolitionist thought. In his "Appeal to the Methodist Episcopal Church" Orange Scott gives these characteristics of the abolitionist position within the Methodist fold:

Slavery: 1) deprives of the right of property; 2) deprives of personal liberty; 3) deprives of personal security; 4) depraves and degrades its subject; 5) dooms thousands to hopeless ignorance; 6) deprives of the gospel; 7) encourages licenses and increases cruelty; 8) produces general licentiousness among slaves; 9) is demoralizing to the whites; 10) draws down the vengeance of Heaven.<sup>62</sup>

In contrast with the position of the Methodist abolitionists on the problem of slavery, the pro-slavery position is just as strongly upheld. The Georgia Annual Conference in 1838, Resolved:

That it is in the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference, that slavery as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil;

That we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavoring to impart to him and his master the benign influences of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to Heaven.

On the motion it was resolved unanimously:

That the Georgia Annual Conference regards with the feeling of profound respect and approbation, the

dignified course pursued by our several district superintendents or bishops in suppressing the attempts that have been made by various individuals to get up and protract an excitement in the churches and country on the subject of abolitionism.

Further,

That they have our cordial and zealous support in sustaining them in the ground they have taken.<sup>63</sup>

In general the Methodists in the South considered slavery a civil problem and not an ecclesiastical one. It is noticeable too, that the Southern Methodists wanted to continue their work as missionaries among the slaves. One can realize the handicaps a Southern Methodist preacher would have among the slave plantation owners, if like his Northern brethren he would proclaim a gospel of abolition to the Negro. After the slave revolts the churches had already aroused suspicion among the plantation owners that they were promoting slave revolts.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, the Methodist Church like her sister Protestant denominations did not want to identify herself with a cause as radical as that of abolition. William A. Smith of Virginia, before the Virginia Conference, makes this statement about slavery: "Yes, we say that slavery is an evil. Who knows how the shoe pinches but he who wears it?" That the Southern Methodists appeased the states in the issue of slavery is a record of slavery history.<sup>66</sup> Indications of this view taken by the Georgia Conference is typical of the Southern Methodists' stand on slavery.

In 1840, at the General Conference of the Methodist Church a very difficult problem arose, which secured re-

sentment by the abolitionists. The Rev. Silas Comfort had been convicted of mal-administration in admitting the testimony of a colored person to convict a white member of his church, by the Missouri Conference. The General Conference reversed the decision.<sup>67</sup> This action aroused the protest of the Southern members. Rev. Dr. I. A. Few of Georgia immediately proposed the following resolution:

That it is expedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any state where they are denied the privilege by law.<sup>68</sup>

This resolution passed and immediately the Northern brethren objected to the resolution. William A. Smith of Virginia proposed a substitute motion to appease the Northern men. Resolved:

That the resolution offered by I. A. Few, and adopted on Monday the 18th instant, relating to the testimony of persons of colour, be reconsidered and amended so as to read as follows, viz. — That it is expedient and unjustifiable for any preacher among us to admit persons of colour to give testimony to the trials of white persons in any slave-holding state where they are denied that privilege in trials at law. Provided that when an Annual Conference in any state or territory shall judge it expedient to admit of the introduction of such testimony within its bounds, it shall be allowed so to do.<sup>69</sup>

The substitute motion was lost and the Southerners won the day. The evidence of separation of opinion among the Northern and Southern Methodists had at last come

to a vital blow, and the precedent was set for events to follow.

This action by the General Conference against the Negro did not go unprotected by members of the Negro churches within Methodism. This protest, however, was not voiced on the conference floor, but in the liberal abolitionist papers, the *Zion's Watchman* and *Zion's Herald*. (Negroes were not as yet delegates to the Methodist General Conference). The forty-six members of the Sharp Street and Asbury Methodist Churches in Baltimore, protested and petitioned against the resolution in the General Conference of 1840. On June 20th, 1840, the members of these churches wrote to the *Zion's Watchman*:

We have learned with profound regret, with utterable emotion, that your venerable body adopted on the 18th instant, a resolution which substantially declares, that, it is expedient and unjustifiable to admit testimony against white members of the church, in those states where colored testimony against white persons, in civil and criminal cases is illegal.

The adoption of such a resolution by our highest ecclesiastical judicators composed of the most experience and wisest brethren in the church, the choice selection of twenty-eight annual conferences has inflicted, we fear, inseparable injury upon eighty thousand souls for whom Christ died. Your resolution has, in our humble opinion, virtually declared that a new physical peculiarity, the handiwork of an all-wise and benevolent Creator, is prima facie evidence of incompetency to tell the truth or is an unerring indi-

cation of the unworthiness to bear testimony against a fellow-being, whose skin is denominated white.

Brethren, out of the abundance of the heart we have spoken. Our grievance is before you! If you have any regard for the salvation of the eighty thousand immortal souls committed to your care; if you would not thrust beyond the pale of the church twenty-five hundred souls in this city who have felt determined to never leave the church that has nourished and brought them up; if you regard us as children of one common Father, and can, upon reflection, sympathize with us as members of the body of Christ — if you would not concur the fearful, the tremendous responsibility of offending not only one, but many thousands of his 'little ones;' we conjure you to wipe from your journal the odious resolution which is ruining our people.<sup>70</sup>

Another statement of interest showing the Negro Methodists' concern over the resolution passed in the Methodist General Conference of 1840, comes from the Negro members of the New England Conference. A petition was presented to the New England Conference of 1842, by the Negro members of the Conference to be read as a protest against the resolution of the General Conference of 1840. The petition was neglected. Later, the Negroes through J. D. Bridge asked Abel Stevens to publish the petition in the *Zion's Herald* so that Methodism might know the sentiments of the New England Negro Methodists toward the actions of the General Conference of 1840. Abel Stevens consented to publish the petition which read:

Against this resolution we enter our decided and solemn protest, and we intend never to rest until it is erased from the records. We do not mean, however, that we will accomplish this erasure by revolution, but in the use of constitutional means. We mean to make no insurrection on the Church as such, but on the principle and practice of slavery in the Church . . .

We are not ignorant of the civil and political regulations of the Southern States in reference to the slave population . . . We know the absolute and constant obedience is by civil law, the imperative duty of the slave . . . We know that the testimony of slaves is not admissible in a civil process, and for the simple reason that they are articles of property, marketable commodities, things!

All this we well understood, but at the same time, we are certain that this impious and terrible business of unmaking men . . ., is the working of civil government, the effect of political power unwielded by the majority to crush the weak and defenseless. But we are also persuaded beyond the power of conviction to the contrary, that all such civil regulations and laws are totally irreconcilable with the principles of benevolence and justice, and the flagrant outrages on the genius of our holy religion; and outrages too, for which no substantial apology can be offered. To attempt an apology were to insult humanity and sin most fearfully against the Judge of all! The system of slavery as constructed by southern legislation is merciless and malignant in all its parts. It is like a ferocious and rabid beast rotting in the woes of the helpless — fattening upon the crushed and bleeding

hearts, and assaying to quench his raging thirst in the uninterrupted tides of human tears! Would that this dream of fancy! But alas! it is living, breathing reality! And yet, a sight of the “place of skulls” — “the field of blood” where human interest relations and hearts lie dissevered and broken, instinctively prompts the question — How can these things be? We find our answer in the sordid avarice and malignant depravity of the human heart, out of which proceed all the abominations of slavery. But we have certainly a right to expect better things of regenerated men — of professing Christians — and especially Christian ministers.

They are the representatives of Christ and cannot, therefore, without recreancy to their high and holy trust, join hands with those whose “robber-right is in their swords,” and not in the great charter of human liberties which Jehovah has given to men — the Bible. But, we ask with emphasis — How far removed from such treasonable act is the resolution of our last General Conference, which deprives 80,000 church members of an unalienable right and the priceless boon of ecclesiastical protection? We pause not to answer the question, but fearlessly affirm that the resolution is a perfect parody on the cruel and heartless legislation of the South in reference to the hopeless victims of republican oppression. Is not this the highest sanction of the church to the bloody system of American slavery? And this solution is given be it remembered, in the living light of the nineteenth century with legislative deliberation! It was not enough it would seem that the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church south of Mason

and Dixon's line should be corrupted by the leprosy of slavery, or stand liable to be riven by the exploding thunder of the God of the poor and oppressed; but we at the North who hate slavery as we hate sin, must become co-partners in a firm traffic in blood and bones, souls and bodies, men, women, and children and unborn infants; or, at least we must be able to share in the awful responsibilities of their piratical work! Heaven help us! for we will not share in this horrid plunder! As New England Methodists in our conventional capacity, we cry out against it; and by a formal act wash our hands of the innocency of this subject . . . The resolution must be rescinded for which we state the following reasons.

1) The resolution is wrong in itself; it violates the golden rule, and sets aside the paramount authority of heaven by sanctioning a most uprighteous and outrageous principle in human legislation.

2) The doctrine of the resolution is not only wrong, that is, sinful when justly and strictly construed, but it is dishonorable beyond endurance to the church. It is a down hill effort; a retrograde movement more fitting the ignorance, selfishness, impiety and barbarism of the tenth century, than the intelligence, the philanthropy, the Christian devotion, the enterprising and advancing spirit, and the noonday spendors of the present age! The check of every intelligent Methodist must mantle, with shame whenever he is reproached for this Anti-Christian inhuman resolution, which stands upon the journals of our General Conference, as the exponent of the tender mercies of Christian slavery!

3) It is inimical to the interests and a hindrance

to the prosperity of Methodism at the North, particularly in New England. It stands right in our way as a prominent obstacle. Men of intelligence, when converted among us, and who wish to unite with our church, refuse to do so on account of this resolution; and this objection is becoming more and more formidable every day. It must be removed, or the glory of Methodism among us had departed. We have difficulties enough to encounter already, without endorsing by the remotest implication, this pro-slavery act of the General Conference; or can we with patience suffer under it.

4) Finally on this subject, we call on all ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North, and in New England conferences especially, to rally to this work and buckle on their honour for a constitutional conflict. We can petition the Annual Conferences, or the General Conference directly. Let thousands of deep toned voices, therefore, join in an overwhelming and resistless prayer that the blackest of the resolution we passed, by a body of Christians, ministers, may be rescinded with penitential enthusiasm. Brethren we can do this work through the grace of heaven. We entreat you, therefore, on your fear of a God of justice, who respects not the persons of men, as you love one church of your choice, as you feel for the millions of bondsmen in this nation and as you sympathize with 80,000 proscribed members of the church, "come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty" genius of slavery which now rules in the church and state.<sup>71</sup>

This statement to the *Zion's Watchman* and *Zion's Herald* by the Negro people of Baltimore and New England certainly ridicules any idea that the Negro gladly accepted a status handed down by a white ecclesiastical body. It rather indicates a growing interest of the Negro in the affairs of the church of which he was a participant. While the Negro was not able to voice his protest in the conferences of Methodism (the Negro was still regarded as a missionary enterprise of the Methodist conferences), there was open to him aid from white friends, liberals in the Methodist tradition, who provided opportunity for the Negro to express himself. Here is direct evidence of mutual aid between the white and the black against the evils of slavery which they commonly faced.

The General Conference of 1840 was flooded with many petitions against slavery. Orange Scott debated the issue on the conference floor for two hours, to no avail.<sup>72</sup> The Methodist Church remained non-committal over the problem of slavery and the abolitionist went away from the conference in expressed disgust.

Between the years 1840-1844 the Wesleyan Connection of Methodism was founded in Utica, New York<sup>73</sup> under Messrs. Scott, Horton, Sunderland, Luther, Lee, Brewster, Ogden, Matlack, Prindle, and others. Non-slaveholding was made the price of membership. About twenty thousand members withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church to enter the new connection. In the year of 1844, the new church had a total membership of 377,811.<sup>74</sup>

In 1844 at the General Conference in the Green Street Church, New York City, the Anti-slavery conflict was brought to a climax within the Methodist church. The facts have been enumerated by many historians in the

field of American Church History.<sup>75</sup> The author finds it necessary to re-state what has been said.

The Northern moderates were ably led by Nathan Bangs, Stephen Olin, president of Wesleyan University, Peter Cartwright, from Illinois, and Charles Elliott. The Southern delegation was led by William Capers, famous missionary worker among the Negroes, William Winana, of Mississippi, William A. Smith of Virginia, and the two Pierces, father and son, of Georgia. James Porter and Phineas Crandall led the side of the abolitionists.<sup>76</sup> These were the men who figured prominently in the great schism with the Methodist Church.

On May 21, the Conference was brought to the great discussion over slavery. The South had asked that a slave owner, Bishop Andrew, should be allowed to remain in his office as Bishop. The delegation from the North, East, and West, where the humanitarian sentiments against slavery were strong, opposed the idea of a slave-holding Bishop. They felt it would cause a disruption in the church.<sup>77</sup> The case was referred to the Episcopal committee who brought in the following report.

Whereas, the Rev. James O. Andrew, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has become connected with slavery, as communicated in his statement in his reply to the inquiry of the Committee on the Episcopacy, which reply is embodied in their report, No. 3, offered yesterday; and whereas, it has been, from the origin of said Church, the settled policy and the invariable usage to elect no person to the office of Bishop who was embarrassed with this great evil, as under such circumstances it would be impossible for a Bishop to exercise the func-

tions and perform the duties assigned to a general superintendent with acceptance, in that large portion of his charge in which slavery does not exist; and whereas Bishop Andrew was himself nominated by our brethren of the slave-holding states, and elected by the General Conference of 1832, as a candidate who, though living in the midst of a slave-holding population, was nevertheless free from all personal connection with slavery, and whereas, this is, of all periods in our history as a Church, the one least favorable to such an innovation upon the practices and usages of Methodism as to confide a part of the itinerant superintendency to a slaveholder; therefore; Resolved, That the Rev. James O. Andrew, be as he is hereby affectionately requested to resign his office as one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>78</sup>

James B. Finley offered a substitute motion which was much milder than the one offered by the Episcopal Committee. Instead of asking the Bishop to resign, it requested him to "desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains."<sup>79</sup> From the twenty-third of May to the thirtieth of the same, a debate ensued over whether the General Conference had a right to suspend a bishop. The Northern brethren answered in the affirmative, the Southern brethren answered in the negative. The North contended that the Northern Conference would never accept a Methodist Bishop who owned slaves as a superintendent. The Southerners contended that to suspend a bishop because of the Northern sentiments would work havoc in the South. After the debate contended without any satisfactory conclusion, the Bishops

led by Bishop Hedding asked for an adjournment, in order that the Bishops might offer a conciliatory measure. The bishops suggested the "further postponement of further action in the case of Bishop Andrew until the ensuing conference."<sup>80</sup>

The New Hampshire Conference consulted Bishop Hedding after the proposal of the Bishop had been offered and said:

If Bishop Andrews holds his office, there will be a large secession, or whole conferences will leave. If this conference does anything less than to declare slavery is a moral evil, we stand on a volcano in the North.<sup>81</sup>

Bishop Hedding, therefore, was persuaded to withdraw his name from the report given by the Bishops. The bishops' proposal was no longer unanimous and the proposal lost weight on the conference floor. "On June 1st the question of the virtual suspension of Bishop Andrew came to a vote and was carried, 111 ayes to 60 naves."<sup>82</sup> At last Methodism had taken a decisive step on the problem of slavery within its associational life. The results of this vote led to open schism within the church. The Southerners, led by Bishop Capers, proposed the formation of two equal and co-ordinate General Conferences, divided by the line between the slaves and the free.<sup>83</sup> The American Protestant Community had come to its first major schism within its community over the problem of slavery.

A historical survey of the major Protestant denomination in the United States in the period 1830-1844, reveals an unwillingness of the majority to do something about

the Negro problem. Rather, they laid the issue of slavery in the laps of the state, and contented themselves with saving the individual souls of mankind. Religion to them had nothing to do with the social order in which it had to be expressed. The Presbyterians, however, showed some evidence as to its relationship to the problem of slavery, but it was the Finney revivalists and the Methodists who were willing to take a definite stand on the problem. These Methodists were in the East and West. The Negro also aided his own cause by petitioning the various newspapers of the day to present his case before the Protestant Community. Here a co-operative spirit developed between the Negro in the East and West and the Protestants of these same sections which formed a basis of social action against the common evil of slavery. The Southern Churches both Methodist and sister denominations were content to keep hands off the problem of slavery. Thus, the moral weight which it could have mustered by doing the historically best possible was lost. One can understand the problem of slavery was more complex than the one in the North, yet, the complete separation of church and state which was advocated by the churches in the South worked havoc with the moral influence they could have gained by some action in behalf of the Negro. Myrdal points out that the Southern Protestant minister has no moral voice in the affairs of the social relationship between white and black. The Christian Southern preacher is the most ignorant on social reforms, and dares not take a stand on the problem of human betterment of the Negro people.<sup>84</sup> However, it is not our task here to criticize. It is our task to point out that the early sympathetic approaches toward the Negro people made by the Protestant Community between the years, 1619-1800, had now

resulted in two opposing camps. One camp was against the freedom of slaves; the other camp was for the freedom of the slave because it was against the Christian ethics. This separation as indicated in the Methodist churches was evident of a division which was to take place in the state.

The humanitarian sentiments which had developed in the West and East over the problem of slavery were given additional impetus by the abolitionist movement, which was a product of the Protestant Community. William Lloyd Garrison uttered the important words which indicated the approaching crisis within the nation. On January 1, 1831, he issued the first number of the *Liberator*:

I determined at every hazard to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation within the sight of Bunker Hill, and in the birthplace of liberty. That standard is now unfurled: and long may it float, unhurt by the spoilations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe; yea, till every chain is broken, and every bondsman set free! Let the Southern oppressors tremble; let their secret abettors tremble; let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble. Assenting to the self-evident truths maintained in the American Declaration of Independence 'that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population.

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there no cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and uncompromising as justice.

On this subject I do not wish to think or speak or to write with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to moderate in a cause like the present! I am in earnest. I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch. And I will be heard.<sup>85</sup>

And Garrison was heard. In 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Philadelphia with a representation from members of ten states. By 1836, there were 250 auxiliary anti-slavery societies in thirteen states, and by 1838 these organizations had increased to 1,006. Numerous Protestant ministers aided the abolitionist cause. Theodore Weld, Orange Scott, William Ellery Channing, John Rankin, James G. Birney, and others fought valiantly for the immediate emancipation of the Negro. Gilbert Barnes in a study has surveyed the Anti-Slavery Impulse in America 1830-1844. Barnes' conclusion is that the anti-slavery areas produced by the anti-slavery movements, were responsible for the rise of Abraham Lincoln to the President of the United States.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the Protestant Ethics and the American Ideal had united to demand immediate freedom for the Negro.

The Negro aided the cause of the abolitionists as he had also aided the spirit of freedom in the church. The first twenty-five subscriptions to the *Liberator* were given by the Negroes of Philadelphia.<sup>87</sup> Garrison in many of his speeches declared that his voice was that of the Negro people and not of the whites for they were the ones who

supported him in his cause. Such a statement became reality when a young fugitive from slavery named Frederick Douglas was encouraged to read a copy of the *Liberator* in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1839. Douglas says after reading the paper:

I was brought into contact with the mind of Mr. Garrison, and his paper took a place in my heart second only to the Bible. It detested slavery, and made no truce with the traffickers in the bodies or souls of men. It preached human brotherhood; it exposed hypocrisy and wickedness in high places, it denounced oppression and with solemnity of "Thus saith the Lord" demanded the complete emancipation of my race. I felt in my heart prejudice against color was a rebellion against God.<sup>88</sup>

Here Douglas provides the historian with insight into the two controlling influences which stimulated the longing for freedom in the Negro's breast, first, the Bible, and second, the work of the abolitionist. Douglas soon learned the language of the abolitionist and lectured on their platforms throughout the East and West. Garrison was a constant companion, and it was he who spent time in preparing Douglas for the lecture platform. The audiences were more convinced when they saw and heard a black man pleading his own case for freedom.<sup>89</sup>

Douglas was not the only Negro to lecture on the abolitionist platform. William Wells Brown served the New England American Anti-Slavery Society and traveled abroad in Great Britain and Ireland, speaking in behalf of the black man's freedom.<sup>90</sup>

Charles L. Redmond, a speaker on the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society, pleaded the case for im-

mediate emancipation of the Negro in New England and became an outstanding figure in abolitionist circles. In 1840, Redmond attended the World Anti-Slavery Society's Convention in London, England. He spoke on many occasions in Great Britain and Ireland in behalf of the black man's freedom.

Thus, it was in the American Anti-Slavery Society that a new form of associational life was formed in the American Protestant Community. The Negro had been welcomed into the white man's associational life as a defender of his people. The Negro slave and the white man joined hands together to fight a common foe, the institution of slavery and all its accompanying injustices.

## CHAPTER VII

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

*A. SUMMARY*

Before a final decision can be reached regarding the Negro Community within American Protestantism in the period 1619-1844, it will be necessary to review the significant facts discovered in this study.

The Negro Community is unique among the other communities in America in the sense that it grew out of the institution of slavery, an eighteenth century development. The Negro Community was devoid of any Christian understanding of man, God and the world until he was approached by the Protestant denominations.

The Protestant denominations approached the Negro community and invited it to worship in its religious organizational life as a "man equal before God." The Protestant Church not only invited the Negro to worship but also established schools in which the Negro was taught to read and write by Protestant teachers. The work of the Quakers and the Anglicans described in an earlier chapter shows the intensity in which the Protestant denominations, in spite of the handicaps arising out of the institution of slavery, worked to aid the Negro Community in the skills of knowledge.

In the period 1619-1800, the Quakers and Methodists and Congregational churches maintained an ever increasing vigilance against the evils of slavery. These denomi-

nations struck fear into the hearts of the slave-master, so much so that the Negro Community was forbidden to attend their services. The seeds of later abolition were planted in the soil of America by the early Protestant missionaries. After constantly being watered they were to bring forth fruit a thousand fold. The task of the Protestant denominations was to remove the scales of religious ignorance from the eyes of the Negro Community in order that it might see that freedom which was in Christ Jesus.

The Negro Community in turn was grateful for the gospel which it had heard from the lips of the Protestant preachers and teachers. The Negro adapted the message of Christianity to song, poetry, and sermon.

The Negro spiritual is but a recreation of the words which fell from the lips of the Protestant preacher and teacher. Roland Hayes recovers for the world, that humility of thought, that sublime spiritual ecstasy which was felt in the soul of his great-grandfather, Charles. The "Crucifixion" first sung by Charles was learned from the lips of a Protestant teacher.

Phillis Wheatly learned to use the pen by adapting herself to the message of Samuel Sewall and George Whitefield.

Black Harry, pioneer Negro preacher, memorized the sermons of Bishop Asbury and gave a freshness to the sermon which caused the white Methodist of the day to react in utter amazement.

The above illustrations are only a part of the Negro Community which expressed gratitude for this new vision of the Kingdom of God in Heaven. The historian must take note that the Protestant Church was the only institution in the American Society which approached the Negro in the period 1619-1800. The record of this history has

been left out of its rightful place in American Church History and must be recovered before the Negro Community can be understood in our American society.

After the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, slavery became even more a profitable institution in the South. The domestic slave trade and the speculation in new lands for cotton crops brought an increased cruelty to the institution of slavery.

The earlier sentiments in the North and South for abolition turned to sentiments for gradual emancipation, and the colonization of slaves in the period 1800-1830.

The Protestant churches developed a caste consciousness within its organizational life in the period 1800-1830. The Negro rather than suffer from the caste system in the church withdrew and organized the Negro independent church movements. This was a form of social protest against the Protestant churches in which they had previously been free to worship. In addition, Negro separated churches were organized by the white Protestant churches for the benefit of the Negro church member. Here was the first real schism in the American church which occurred because of social reasons and not theological ones. At last a segregated and separated Negro Community was organized in American Protestantism.

In the South the Negro preachers organized slave revolts to combat the increased cruelty of slavery. Led by the vision of the apocalypse the Negro preacher sought to form by force the "New Jerusalem" which he had been promised in the Scriptures. These prophets of revolt awaken the American Protestant conscience to the evils of slavery.

In connection with these forms of protest, the Negro organized societies in the North, and began to agitate in pamphlet form for freedom. The point that must be kept

in mind that all three forms of social protest proclaimed by the Negro Community were stimulated by the Christian gospel of the Protestant Community.

The ear of the Protestant Community was not all together deaf to the voices for freedom which were raised by the Negro Community in the period 1800-1830. The Protestant churches carefully debated the institution of slavery in this period and joined hands with the proposed programs of the state for gradual emancipation, and colonization.

Soon, however, the liberal Protestant forces rising in the spirit of the "age of the common man" realized that gradual emancipation, and colonization would not solve the problem of the Negro Community. The chains of slavery must be broken, sharp, swift, and clean — "immediate emancipation" became the cry of the Protestant reformer. To this cry, the Southern churches said no! Slavery is a civil question, not a religious one. The duty of the church remains to save the soul and not to tamper with the social order.

The answer of the Protestant churches in the North was yes! It is the Christian duty to break the evil of slavery which is incompatible with the Protestant ethics. The church is responsible for the environs in which the soul is to grow!

At last another caste had formed within the Protestant Community. That white caste which restricts its church membership to white only. The Methodist because of its organizational history against slavery felt the schism within its community first. There was no ground of compromise between the North and the South on the evil of slavery.

Supporting the Protestant abolitionists, the Protestant churches made the nation hear anew the cry of the black

man for freedom. *The Zion's Herald* and *The Zion's Watchman* supported the cause of the abolitionists and made room in their pages for the Negro to register his protest. The Negro joined in the fight for his own freedom and for the first time in American history the black man and the white man united in Protestant social groups for social action.

### B. CONCLUSION

A study of the Negro Community within American Protestantism 1618-1844 leads the author to make the following conclusions.

1. The caste status of the Negro Community in American life is of eighteenth century origin. The Negro Community is a pathological form of an American Community. Its social, physiological, psychological and religious characteristics make it difficult for being assimilated into the American culture.

2. The American Protestant Community was the first American Community to show any form of human sympathy and understanding of the difficulties which beset the Negro Community. Hence the Negro readily responded to the missionary efforts of the Protestant denominations and became an important part of their organic life. Especially was this true of the Methodist and Baptist denominations.

3. The acceptance of the caste status of the Negro Community by large areas of American Protestants in the nineteenth century resulted in the rise of the Negro segregated and separated churches.

4. The Negro church became a symbol of racial unity and an organ of protest against the caste status of the

Negro Community. The Protestant Christian Ethics became the ideal and standard to which the Negro could appeal for the removal of the caste lines which were imposed on the Negro Community. Hence a moral problem was immediately created which the American Protestant Community had to respond to if it intended to remain Christian.

5. The American Protestant Community responses to the protests of the Negro Community 1619-1844 have been along three lines. 1) One element of the American Protestant Community has been willing to accommodate to the caste status of the Negro Community. 2) Another element of the American Protestant Community has been willing to ignore the problem of the caste status of the Negro Community and leave it to the civil authorities to solve. 3) Another element has been sensitive to the incompatibility of the caste status of the Negro Community with the Protestant Christian Ethics and has consciously called upon the American Protestant Community to repent of its social guilt. The actions of this latter group of Christians create hopes that the American Protestant Community will break its caste lines within its own boundaries and point the way for other American Communities. The first sign of such a social experiment was the joint participation of white and black men in the associational life of the anti-slavery societies which ultimately ended in the emancipation of the Negro as slaves.

6. The problem of the caste status of the Negro Community from 1619-1844 was a problem created by the arrogance and superiority complex of the white dominant group. It is this group therefore who must ultimately solve the caste status of the Negro Community within American Protestantism. Hence the conclusion here is that the problem of Negro caste is a white man's problem.

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## FOOTNOTES

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1. MacIver, R.M., *Community a Sociological Study*, pp. 22-23.
  2. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
  3. Moehlman, Henry, definition of "Protestantism" in Ferm, Vergilius, *An Encyclopedia of Religion*, p. 616.
  4. Hawkins, F. H., definition of "Voluntary Association" in *Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 16.
  5. Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma*, p. 669.
  6. Earp, J. P., definition of "Accommodation" in *Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 2.
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1. Weatherford, W. D., *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 75.
  2. Benezet, Anthony, *Historical Account of Guinea*, p. 43; cited in *ibid.*, p. 76.
  3. Chapman, C. E., *Hispanic America: Colonial and Republican*, pp. 23-28, 110-116, 188-189.
  4. Rippey, J. F., in "The Negro and the Spanish Explorers in the New World," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. VI, pp. 183-189.
  5. Jackson, L.P., "Elizabethan Seamen and the African Slave Trade," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-17.
  6. Brawley, B. J., *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 8.
  7. Bandinel, *Account of the Slave Trade*, pp. 38-44.
  8. Dubois, W. E. B., *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, p. 3.
  9. Bandinel, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
  10. Brawley, B. J., *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 8.
  11. Brawley, B. J., *op. cit.*, p. 9.
  12. Beard, Charles and Mary, *The Rise of the American Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 45.
  13. Weatherford, W. D., *The Negro from Africa to America*, p. 75.
  14. Weatherford, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119. Dunbar records 90,000 slaves brought to America in the sixteenth century; 2,750,000 in the seventeenth; 7,000,000 in the eighteenth; and over 4,000,000 in the nineteenth. Cf. *Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. XX, p. 47. However, Wilson states that over 300,000 slaves were imported before 1796. Cf. *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. I, p. 3.
  15. The people who founded colonies in New England were fleeing Europe in search of religious toleration. They were in most cases tolerant toward their slaves. Socially their communities

- were built around the towns and early this factor proved a source of democratic unity among neighbors. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America*, p. 137.
16. Some historians substitute the word slave for Negro. Russell, *Free Negroes in Virginia*, p. 16. White servants are also called slaves. Doyle, *History of the English Colonies in America*, Vol. II, p. 387; Stevens, *History of Georgia*, pp. 287-294.
  17. Matlack, *Anti-Slavery Struggle and Triumph in the M. E. Church*, pp. 25-27.
  18. Thwaiter, *The Colonies*, p. 98; Cf. Daniels, *In Freedom's Birth Place*, p. 7.
  19. Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, p. 32.
  20. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, p. 179.
  21. Brawley, *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 7.
  22. Washburn, *Slavery as it Once Prevailed in Mass.*, p. 194.
  23. Ballagh, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 9-10.
  24. Brackett, *The Negro In Maryland*, p. 38.
  25. Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, pp. 18-20.
  26. Hury, *Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina*, p. 3.
  27. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 1-3.
  28. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, pp. 48-49.
  29. Channing, Edward, *A History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 373-378. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia*, pp. 29-30.
  30. Henning, *Statutes at Large*, pp. 145, 146, 252, 433, 551, 552.
  31. At first the offspring of a free parent and a slave were regarded as free men. It became necessary to develop legislation to keep the mulatto class from increasing because of the decreasing of the slave population. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 87, 453; Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, p. 57; Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 112-113; McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, pp. 67-70.
  32. Stroud, *Laws Relating to Slavery*, pp. 8-9. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, pp. 24-25; 92. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, p. 54; Cf. Tyson, *Life of Benjamin Banneker*. Banneker's mother was a white woman and his father was a slave.
  33. Ellis, A. B., *White Slaves and Bond Servants in the American Colonies*, Vol. XL, p. 612.
  34. Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, pp. 30-31.
  35. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 145-160; Herkovits, *The Myth of the Negroes' Past*, pp. 60-61.
  36. *Fifty Years in Chains*, p. 50.
  37. Washington, *Story of the Negro*, pp. 260-261.

## CHAPTER II

1. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, Vol. I, pp. 1-15; Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America*, p. 17.
2. Booth, *Martin Luther, The Oak of Saxony*, pp. 1-8.
3. Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, pp. 26; 135.
4. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, Vol. I, pp. 160-161.
5. Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, (ed. Kirk, 1872), Vol. II, p. 468.
6. Brawley, *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 6; Hurd, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 163; Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of South Carolina and Georgia*, (London, 1779), in Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 353.
7. Chamberline and Harvey, (1697), in *5 Modern Reports*; p. 190; Prescott, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
8. Hurd, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 166-167.
9. Isambert, Decrusy, and Taillandier, *Recueil general des anciennes lois francaises*, 1672-86, (Paris, 1829), Vol. XIX, p. 495.
10. Butts versus Penny, (1677), 2 Levinz 201, in *English Reports*, Vol LXXXIII, p. 518; Gelly versus Cleve, (1694), 1 Lord Raymond 147, *Ibid.*, Vol. XCI, p. 994; Chamberline versus Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Judgment was for the defendant in this case, but counsel for plaintiff argued that Negroes baptized "in a christian nation, as this is, should be immediate enfranchisement to them," etc.
11. Bacon, *Laws of Maryland*, Chapters XXIII-XXIV, for the act of 1715.
12. Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, (New York ed.), Vol. II, p. 260.
13. McCord, *Statutes of South Carolina*, Vol. VII, p. 343, (Act of 1690), and pp. 364-365, (Act of 1712); *Colonial Laws of New York*, Vol. I, (1706), pp. 597-598.
14. Several Ministers of the Gospel in Massachusetts presented a memorial to the general court requesting such an act, May 30, 1694 (*Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. VII, p. 537).
15. *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III, p. 36.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 374; also (1688), p. 547.
17. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II, p. 97.
18. *Archives of Maryland*, 1698-1731, Vol. XXV, p. 57.
19. Godwyn, *The Negro and Indian Advocate Suing for Their Admission into the Church*, p. 4-7.
20. *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. VII, pp. 362-363.
21. Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. I, p. 138.
22. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, (Virginia), p. 112.
23. *Classified Digest of Records of the S. P. G.*, (5th ed.), p. 5.
24. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-232, 261-318.
25. Abstract, *S. P. G.*, 1712-1713, p. 43.

26. Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the S. P. G.*, (London, 1730), pp. 250-251.
27. Abstract, *S. P. G.*, 1713-1714, pp. 60-62.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256, 260. Note. Benjamin Franklin of the Associates, and was Chairman of the meeting in 1760. See Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, Vol. IV, p. 23.
29. Jacobs, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, p. 157; Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K.*, pp. 391-392.
30. Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
31. Abstract, *S. P. G.*, 1734-1735; Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Churches*, (Virginia), p. 280.
32. Beverley, *The History of Virginia*, p. 227.
33. Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress and Abolition of the African Slave-Trade*, pp. 5, 51.
34. Woodson, *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XIV.
35. Thomas, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends Toward Slavery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," etc., *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 263-299, esp. pp. 273-283.
36. *Slave Trade Tracts*, Vol. II.
37. Houston, *John Woolman's Efforts in Behalf of Freedom*, pp. 126-138; Woolman, "Some Consideration on the Keeping of Negroes," (1754), in *Works*, p. 324.
38. Sandiford, Ralph, "Brief Examination," etc., (1729), as quoted by Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, pp. 80-81; Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in North Carolina*, pp. 219-220.
39. Benezet worked in the cities of New York and Philadelphia among the Negroes. See Vaux, *Memoirs of the Life of Benezet*, p. 64.
40. As early as 1714 and 1737, John Hepburn and Benjamin Lay published definite plans for the emancipation of the slaves. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America*, 1619-1808; Benezet, *Some Historical Account of Guinea*, (ed. 1771), pp. 140-141; Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 198-244.
41. Mather, *The Life and Death of Renow'd Mr. John Eliot*, p. 125.
42. Marsh, T. S., "John Elliot," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 8, (ed. 1942), p. 360.
43. Mather, *Essays to Do Good*, p. 94.
44. Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, etc., pp. 41-43.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 43. Robinson, *Testimony and Practice of the Presbyterian Church in Reference to American Slavery*, p. 10. No definite action was taken by the church until 1787. Baird, *Collection of Acts, etc., of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 817-818.
46. Perry, *Historical Collection of the American Colonial Churches*, (Virginia), pp. 368-371. Davies *Negro work in 1947*.
47. *Wesley's Journal and Letters*, (ed. John Tilford), Vol. VI, p. 126, Vol. VII, p. 195; Vol. VIII, pp. 6, 16-17.

48. Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, Vol. II, pp. 272-273.
49. Lee, *A Short History of the Methodist*, p. 16; Sweet, *Methodism in American History* does not take any side of the controversial issue, p. 51 ff.
50. Bangs', *Life of Garretson*; Drew's, *Life of Coke*.
51. Francis Asbury, *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 141.
52. Atkinson, *The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America*, p. 184.
53. Wakeley, J. B., *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early Chapters of American Methodism*, p. 440.
54. Thom, *Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia*, pp. 505-507, 515-517; Semple, *History of Baptists*, pp. 291-292.
55. Newman, *A History of the Baptists of the United States*, p. 374.
56. Jacobs, *History of the Evangelical Luthern Church in the United States*, pp. 167-168.
57. Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
58. Samuel Sewall in 1700 contended that "all men, or as they are the sons of Adam, are Coheirs, and have equal rights unto liberty, and all outward comforts of life . . ." Sewall, "The Selling of Joseph," in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collection*, 5th Series, Vol. VI, pp. 16-17.
59. Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, p. 43.
60. Paine, *Writings*, (ed. Conway), Vol. I, pp. 6-7.
61. Hitchcock, *Memoirs of the Bloomgrove Family*, Vol. II, pp. 233-235.
62. Edwards, *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade*, p. 5.
63. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Slavery of Virginia*, pp. 172-174.
64. Franklin, *Works*, (ed. Sparks), Vol. II, pp. 515-516.
65. Morton, *The Power of Sympathy*.
66. Dwight, *Greenfield Hill*, pp. 37-38.
67. Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, p. 83.
68. Goodell, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-106.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-108.
70. Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, p. 161; Allen, *Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement Since the Reformation*.
71. Curti, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

### CHAPTER III

1. Humphreys, David, *An Historical Account of the S. P. G.*, etc., p. 235.
2. Abstract, *S. P. G.*, 1723-1724 (S. C.), pp. 41-42. This point arouses quite a good deal of controversy and is not the opinion of the author that this was altogether true. See also Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, p. 71; Samuel Davies, *The*

Duty of Christians to Propagate Their Religion Among Heathens, earnestly recommended to the Masters of Negro Slaves in Virginia, pp. 33-34. These two authors reveal the opinion of the author that the Negro was not difficult to convert because of his African background.

3. Bacon, Thomas, *Four Sermons*, pp. 81-82.
4. Abstract, S. P. G., 1760-1761, pp. 58-59. A missionary in 1761 remarks that most of the Negroes in his mission were heathens, "it being very impossible for the Ministers in such extensive Parishes to perform their more immediate Duties in them."
5. Perry, *Historical Collections, etc.*, (Maryland), pp. 304-305. St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, pp. 165-166.
6. See laws prohibiting Negroes from assembling outside the master's plantation. Bacon, *Laws of Maryland*, Act of 1723, Chapter 15; Cf. McCord, *Statutes of South Carolina*, Vol. VII, (1712), p. 352.
7. Godwyn, Morgan, *The Negro's and Indian's Advocate*, p. 39.
8. Hewatt, Alexander, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of South Carolina and Georgia*, in Carroll, "Historical Collections of South Carolina," Vol I, p. 354.
9. Jones, Hugh, *Present State of Virginia*, pp. 70-71; Brickell, John, *The Natural History of North Carolina*, pp. 272-274; Bacon, Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.
10. Godwyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 139-140.
11. Woodson, Carter G., *A History of the Negro Church*, p. 7.
12. *Loc. cit.*, p. 7.
13. Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
14. Abstract, S. P. G., 1723-1724, p. 40.
15. *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury*, Vol. I, p. 5-6.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
17. Wakeley, J. B., *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early Chapters of American Methodism*, p. 440ff.
18. Payne, D. A., *A History of the A. M. E. Church*, p. 72.
19. *Loc. Cit.*, p. 72.
20. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.
21. Payne, D. A., *A History of the A. M. E. Church*, p. 75.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Payne, D. A., *A History of the A. M. E. Church*, p. 78.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
27. Payne, D. A., *A History of the A. M. E. Church*, p. 77.
28. Buckley, J. M., *A History of the Methodist in the United States*.
29. Woodson, C. G., *A History of the Negro Church*, p. 57.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 57; Lednum, John, *A History of the Rise of Methodism in America*.
31. Lednum, John, *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

32. Buckley, J. M., *A History of Methodists in the U. S.*, p. 294.
33. *Minutes of the New England Conference*, Vol. I, 1766-1821, New England Methodist Historical Society.
34. Niebuhr, Richard H., *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, p. 246.
35. Probably the distinguished Wait Palmer of the First Baptist Church of Stoughton, Connecticut. See W. H. Brooks, "Priority of the Silver Bluff Church," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. VII, p. 174.
36. Brooks, W. H., *Op. cit.*, p. 175.
37. Woodson, C. G., *A History of the Negro Church*, p. 43.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Liele's work as a minister became so important that his master, Matthew Moore, granted him his freedom. The death of his master, however, placed him in a position where the heirs refused to recognize his manumission. Woodson, C. G., *The History of the Negro Church*, p. 44.
40. Woodson, C. G., *The History of the Negro Church*, p. 49.
41. Newman, Albert H., *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, p. 331.
42. Woodson, C. G., *The History of the Negro Church*, p. 52.
43. Newman, H., *Op. cit.*, p. 332.
44. Woodson, C. G., *The History of the Negro Church*, p. 53.
45. Semple, *History of the Baptists in Virginia*, p. 355.
46. Semple, *Op. cit.*, p. 356.
47. *The Negro's Year Book*, 1918-1919, p. 236; Benedict, *History of the Baptists*, p. 376.
48. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, pp. 246-247; Cf. Newman, *A History of the Baptists in the United States*, p. 331.
49. Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies and others, showing the State of Religion in Virginia particularly among the Negroes, etc., (2nd ed., London, 1757), p. 20. Letter to J. F., March 2, 1756.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
51. Woodson, C. G., *The History of the Negro Church*, p. 98.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69; Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, p. 431; Brawley, *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 70.
53. Cooley, *Life and Sketches of Lemuel Haynes*, p. 40.
54. Woodson, C. G., *A History of the Negro Church*, p. 63.
55. Stoddardianism erases the line between "half-way" and full church members and permitted all to full church privileges, even when they could not relate a specific experience of regeneration.  
Halfway Covenant. It was the procedure by which children of parents who attended and supported the New England churches, but had not met the severe experimental tests then demanded for full membership, could be baptized. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Ed. Vergilius Ferm, pp. 735, 320.

56. Jacobs, **Life of a Slave Girl**, p. 112.
57. Johnson, Weldon, and Roasmond, **The Book of American Negro Spirituals**, p. 20.
58. Washington, Booker, **The Story of the Negro**, p. 260.
59. Johnson, Weldon and Roasmond, **The Book of American Negro Spirituals**, pp. 114-115.
60. Helm, MacKinley, **Angel Mo' and her Son**, Roland Hayes, p. 36.
61. Helm, MacKinley, **Op. cit.**, pp. 38-39.
62. Traditional.
63. Johnson, James Weldon, **God's Trombones**, p. 30.
64. Traditional.
65. Park, R. E., "The Conflict and Fusion of Culture," **Journal of Negro History**, Vol. 4, p. 123; 1919.
66. Park, R. E., **Op. cit.**
67. Light, G. W., **Memoirs and Poems of Phillis Wheately, A Native African and a Slave**, p. 42.
68. Light, G. W., **Op. cit.**, p. 42.
69. Wheately, Phillis, **Poem on the death of Mr. Whitefield**, in the George P. Winship Collection, Boston Public Library; See also the Glasgow folio edition given to her by the Lord Mayor of London in the Harvard University Library.
70. Lecky, **A History of England in the Eighteenth Century**, Vol. 6, p. 282.

#### CHAPTER IV

1. Parrington, **Main Currents in American Thought**, Vol. I, p. 13.
2. Beard, Charles and Mary, **The Rise of the American Civilization**, Vol. I, p. 378.
3. Beard, Charles and Mary, **Op. cit.**, p. 542.
4. Quoted in Beard, Charles and Mary, **Rise of the American Civilization**, Vol. I, p. 52.
5. Parrington, **Main Currents in American Thought**, Vol. I, p. 62.
6. The tables in the following pages were taken from: 1) **A Statistical View of the Population of the United States 1790-1830**, published by the Department of State in 1835; 2) **Statistical Abstract of the United States**, 1898, published by the government in 1899.
7. Schurz, Carl, **Life of Henry Clay**, Vol. I, p. 31. Let it be remembered that the quotation comes from the early life of Clay for he became pro-slavery later in his Solon career.
8. **The Genius of Universal Emancipation**, Vol. 7, p. 145.
9. **Views of American Slavery a Century Ago**, Appendix, p. 363.
10. **Register of Debates**, 20th Congress, 1st Session, p. 974.
11. Benton, Thomas H., **A History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years; From 1820-1850**. Vol. I, p. 136. Debate was between Webster and Benton in the House of Senate, 1821.
12. Washburne, Elihu B., **Life Sketch of Edward Coles**, p. 131.

13. Earl, Thomas, *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy*, pp. 14, 16, 21.
14. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Vol. I, pp. 33, 65, 82.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 58.
16. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Vol. II, p. 50.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 2.
18. Sometime in 1829 Mr. Garrison accepted an invitation to work with Lundy in the publication of "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," which was enlarged and issued from that time weekly. See Johnson, William, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, p. 28.
19. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Vol. I, p. 405.
20. *Ibid.*
21. See Chapter IV, Section C.
22. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 32, 82. Comment is made by the editor, quoted by the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.
23. Royall, Anne, *Sketches of the United States*, pp. 101, 119. Anne Royall wrote many of the editorials.
24. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Vol. VI, pp. 250, 258.
25. *Niles Weekly Register*, pp. 16, 177, 193, 211, 274; May, 1819.
26. Curtis, G. T., *Life of Daniel Webster*, p. 526.
27. Rankin, John, *Letters on American Slavery*, 2nd ed., pp. 5, 10-12, 66-74. Rankin is known as the "father of abolitionism;" *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*; Weeks, S. B., *The Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 235.
28. Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison*, p. 251.
29. Adams, John, *Works*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, Vol. X, p. 379. See Adams, John Quincy, *Memoirs and Diary*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, Vol. IV, p. 492, 524; Vol. VII, p. 164.
30. Child, L. M., Isaac T. Hooper, *A True Life*, p. 47.
31. Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, pp. 1-50.
32. Stoddard, Major Amos, *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, pp. 331-343.
33. Holmes, Isaac, *An Account of the United States of America, Original Communications*, pp. 324-325.
34. Duncan, John M., *Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada*, Vol. II, p. 251.
35. Faux, W., *Memorable Days in America*, p. 37.
36. Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, p. 32.
37. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, p. 182.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Emerson, *Journals*, Vol. I, p. 180.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.
41. Stroud, George M., *A Sketch of Laws Relating to Slavery in the Several States of the United States*, p. 264; Dubois, W. E. B., *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, p. 95.

42. Brawley, *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 85; *Niles Register*, Vol. 14, p. 176, (May 2, 1818).
43. Dubois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, p. 96. A discussion of the Colonization Society shall be made in a later section.
44. Hurd, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, Vol. II, pp. 70, 127, 57, 138, 119, 64, 44.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214; Wheeler, *Law of Slavery*, p. 346; Stroud, *Sketches of Laws Relating to Slavery*, p. 135.
46. Wheeler, *Op. cit.*, pp. 335-338.
47. Hurd, *Op. cit.*, p. 64.
48. Hurd, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, pp. 153, 45.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 129, 71.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
51. Hurd, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, p. 128.
52. Dubois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, p. 95. The general status of the Negro Community remained as in the former period before 1800. Little evidence is found for a radical departure from the status described in the first chapter.
53. *Nile's Weekly Register*, Vol. 19, p. 336.
54. Stroud, *Sketches of the Laws Relating to Slavery*, p. 35.
55. Wheeler, *Law of Slavery*, p. 255.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
57. Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, p. 97.
58. *Nile's Weekly Register*, Vol. 13, p. 30.
59. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 303.
60. Hurd, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, p. 224.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
64. Hurd, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, p. 7.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
67. *Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1800*; Matlack, *Anti-Slavery Struggles in the Methodist Church*.
68. Scott, Orange, *The Ground of Secession, from the M. E. Church*, p. 47; *Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1808*.
69. *Methodist Discipline, 1824*.
70. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Vol. 5, p. 252.
71. Weeks, S. B., *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 219.
72. Newman, A. H., *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, p. 305.
73. Shaler, N. S., *Kentucky, A Pioneer Commonwealth*, p. 148.
74. Collins, Lewis, *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 111; Benedict, David, *General History of the Baptist Denomination*, Vol. II, p. 245.
75. *Facts About Baptist Churches*, pp. 14, 15.

76. Bourne, George, **Picture of Slavery in the United States of America**, p. 184.
77. **Statement of President Blanchard and others, in letter to Chairman of Anti-Slavery Convention**, quoted in Goodell, **Slavery and Anti-Slavery**, p. 152; **The Genius of Universal Emancipation**, Vol. 8, p. 36. Blanchard was president of Knox College, Galesbury, Illinois.
78. Goodell, **Op. cit.**, pp. 187, 188.
79. Goodell, **Slavery and Anti-Slavery**, p. 152; May, Samuel, **Some Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict**, p. 11.
80. Goodell, **Slavery and Anti-Slavery**, p. 152; Paxton, John D., **Letters on Slavery**, pp. 2, 3.
81. Chandler, **A Summary View of America**, p. 323.
82. **The Genius of Universal Emancipation**, p. 99.
83. Rankin, John, **Letters on American Slavery**, p. 28, 29.
84. Thompson, Robert Ellis, **A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States**, **Appendix**, pp. 368-369.
85. **Annals of Congress**, 16th Congress, 1st Session, p. 739. Mr. Folger presented an address to the representatives of the yearly meeting of friends of New England, expressive of their disapprobation of the introduction of slavery in the territories or States west of the Mississippi River; which was referred to the committee appointed on the 15th instant, to inquire into the propriety of prohibiting the introduction of slavery into said territories.
86. Weeks, S. B., **Southern Quakers and Slavery**, pp. 223, 228.
87. **Constitution of the Society**, Article II.

## CHAPTER V

1. Sperry, **Religion in America**, p. 188. The place of worship in the white churches called "nigger heaven" was a nineteenth century development in American Protestantism. The author was not able to ascertain when and where it first arose in American Protestantism. See also Binney, B. J., **The American Churches**, p. 4.
2. Mays, B. E., "The Negro Church," in Ferm, Vergilius, **An Encyclopedia of Religion**, p. 520.
3. **Ibid.**, p. 521.
4. Myrdal, Gunnar, **An American Dilemma**, p. 858.
5. Wesley, Charles, **Richard Allen**, p. 124.
6. Allen, Richard, **Life Experience and Gospel Labors**, p. 21.
7. Payne, Daniel, **History of the A. M. E. Church**, pp. 7-12.
8. **Ibid.**, p. 5.
9. **Ibid.**
10. Wesley, Charles, **Richard Allen**, p. 134.
11. **Letter of Attorney**. Book No. 8, pp. 1-5, title of the African Supplement was "Amended Articles, improving, amending and altering the Articles of Association of the African Methodist

Episcopal Church, commonly called and known by the name of the Bethel Church of the city of Philadelphia in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by and with the consent of two-thirds of the male members of the said church;" in Wesley, Charles, **Richard Allen**.

12. Richard Allen is considered by Dr. Bangs as a local elder of the Methodist Church during this period. See Bangs, W., **History of the Methodist Episcopal Church**, Vol. II, p. 98.
13. Allen, Richard, **Life Experience and Gospel Labors**, p. 31.
14. Wesley, Charles, **Richard Allen**, p. 141.
15. **Ibid.**, p. 140.
16. **Ibid.**
17. Coker, Daniel, **Sermon delivered extempore in the African Bethel Church in the city of Baltimore, on the 21st day of January, 1816**.
18. Payne, **History of A. M. E. Church**, p. 88.
19. **Ibid.**, p. 93.
20. Woodson, **History of the Negro Church**, p. 76.
21. Spencer, Peter, **History of the Union American Methodist Church organized in 1813 at Wilmington, Delaware**, in Arnett, **Budget of 1904**, pp. 229-234; **Religious Census of 1926**.
22. Woodson, **Op. cit.**, p. 76.
23. **Ibid.**
24. Payne, **History of the A. M. E. Church**, p. 13.
25. **Ibid.**, p. 14.
26. Wesley, **Richard Allen**, p. 70.
27. Smith, David, **Biography of the Rev. David Smith**, p. 24.
28. Payne, Daniel A., **Recollections of Seventy Years**, pp. 100-101.
29. See, the leadership of Walter White in the N.A.A.C.P. Bishop R. E. Jones of the Methodist Church; the author through personal observation with both men was led to believe that their color prevented to some extent their leadership among Negroes. However, on the other hand, it aided their leadership possibilities among the whites. The author is not debating the issue; only sighting an observation of personal experience. This problem is out of the scope of this book.
30. Woodson, **History of the Negro Church**, p. 77; Payne, **History of the A. M. E. Church**, p. 31ff.
31. **The Doctrines and Discipline of the African Methodist Episcopal Church**, pp. 1-10, 1817.
32. Wesley, **Richard Allen**, p. 167.
33. **Ibid.**, p. 168.
34. There is still some doubt among Methodists as to what powers the term Bishop implies in the Church. The last general Conference in 1948, ordered a committee to study the various orders of the church. There is no doubt, however, that Asbury, generally applied full powers to that of a Bishop. The A. M. E. Church has in its history done the same.

35. Wakeley, *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early Chapters of Methodism*, p. 444; Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church*, p. 78.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 444; Rush, Christopher, *Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America*; Hood, J. W., *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church or the Centennial of African Methodism*; Moore, John J., *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church*.
37. Wesley, Richard Allen, p. 132; *The Doctrines and Discipline of the A. M. E. Zion Church*, 1944.
38. Wakeley, *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early Chapters of Methodism*, p. 444.
39. Wesley, *Op. cit.*, p. 123.
40. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, p. 84.
41. Cromwell, John W., "The First Negro Churches in Washington, D. C.," in *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 7, p. 64ff.
42. Cromwell, John W., "The First Negro Churches in Washington, D. C.," in *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 7, p. 65.
43. Asbury, *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 266.
44. Shipp, A. M., *History of Methodism in South Carolina*, p. 604.
45. Mood, F. A., *Methodism in Charleston*, p. 144.
46. Smith, *Life and Letters of Andrew*, p. 104.
47. Burkhead, *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina*, p. 96.
48. Shipp, A. M., *History of Methodism in South Carolina*, p. 604.
49. Brown, I. C., *The Story of the American Negro*, p. 69. Cf. Brooks, Walter H., "The Evolution of the Negro Baptist Church," in the *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 7, 1922. The date given for the first Negro Baptist Association in Ohio and Illinois is 1833.
50. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church*, p. 88.
51. Cary, Lott, "The Colonizing Missionary," by F. S. Monroe, in *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. VII, pp. 328-426.
52. Gillet, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, Vol. I, p. 471.
53. The Presbyterians sponsored Lincoln Institute and the Congregational churches sponsored Atlanta University in the early history of the race. These two schools have made very valuable contributions to the life of the Negro. See also Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, p. 936, for an understanding of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in the Negro Community.
54. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, p. 99.
55. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I, pp. 103ff; Engels, *The Peasant Wars in Germany*; Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States*; Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States*; Seeborn, F., *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*.
56. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 71; Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 13ff.
57. Emerson, W. C., *Stories and Spirituals of the Slaves*, pp. 31-32.

58. For a more adequate explanation of the position of Luther in the peasant revolts of Germany see; Booth, *Martin Luther, Oak of Saxony*, pp. 176ff; Lindsay, *The Protestant Reformation*, pp. 16-113; Smith, P., *Martin Luther*, pp. 1-4.
59. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 310.
60. The words of Olmstead quoted in Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States*, p. 48; Olmstead, *A Journey Through a Back Country*, pp. 83-88.
61. Aptheker, *Op. cit.*, p. 27; Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
62. Aptheker, *Op. cit.*, p. 30.
63. Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *The Boston Gazette*, October 6, 1800; Higginson, *Travellers and Outlaws*, p. 194; Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, (Revised Edition).
66. Grimke, A., *Right on the Scaffold, or the Martyrs of 1822*, pp. 3-5; Brawley, *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 133; Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 85.
67. Grimke, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
68. Grimke, *Op. cit.*, p. 19.
69. Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 86.
70. Payne, *History of the A. M. E. Church*, pp. 31-43; Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 87.
71. The present A. M. E. College in Atlanta, Georgia, is named after this leader.
72. Kennedy and Parker, *An Official Report of the Negro Plot in Charleston, South Carolina, 1822*, p. 23. (The author will speak of this document in later references as: *Official Report*.)
73. *Official Report*, p. 24; Brawley, *Op. cit.*, p. 134; Higginson, Thomas W., "Denmark Vesey," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. VII, pp. 728-744.
74. Brawley, *Op. cit.*, p. 136.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-139; Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 98; *Official Report*, pp. 58-60.
76. Aptheker, *Op. cit.*, p. 43; Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.
77. Aptheker, *Op. cit.*, p. 42.
78. Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States*, p. 43.
79. Holland, *Refutation of Calumnies . . .*, p. 11.
80. Carroll, *Op. cit.*, p. 104; Furman, *Exposition of Views of the Baptists Relative to the Colored Population of the United States*, pp. 6-15, 1822.
81. *The Liberator*, September 17, 1831.
82. Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States*, p. 132.
83. Brawley, *A Social History of the Negro*, p. 141.
84. Williams, G. W., *History of the Negro Race in America*, pp. 88-90.
85. Brawley, *Op. cit.*, p. 145; "Nat Turner's Confessions," *The Anglo-African Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 390, (1859); Gray, T. R., *The Confessions of Nat Turner*.

86. Brawley, *A Social History of the Negro*, pp. 146-147.
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89. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America*, p. 92.
90. Walker, D., "Appeal," p. 8.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
92. Walker, *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.
93. Hurd, *Laws of Freedom and Bondage*, Vol. II, p. 148.
94. Walker was in Richmond, Virginia in the year 1830, and circulated some of the copies of the "Appeal." It is thought that some of these pamphlets got into the hands of Nat Turner, "The Black Prophet." Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States*, p. 127.
95. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, p. 736.

## CHAPTER VI

1. "The Dial" in Curti, Merle, *The Growth of American Thought*, p. 368.
2. Channing, William Ellery, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 244.
3. Curti, *Ibid.*, p. 368.
4. Curti, *op. cit.*, p. 372; Walker, Williston, *A History of the Christian Church*, p. 586-587.
5. Russell, Bertrand, *Freedom versus Organization*, p. 91; Sorley, W. R., *A History of English Philosophy*, pp. 226ff; For an understanding of the ideas of James Mill, Bentham's disciple, see Albee, Ernest, *A History of English Utilitarianism*.
6. Curti, *op. cit.*, p. 373.
7. Laidler, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52, 69, 77, 113, 193.
8. Curti, M., *Op. cit.*, p. 372; In his New Christianity Saint-Simon declares: "All men ought to regard each other as brothers. This principle, which belongs to primitive Christianity, will receive a glorification, and in its new form will read: We must aid society in this chief purpose, which is the most rapid improvement of the poor." Laidler, *Social-Economic Movements*, p. 52.
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11. Schneider, *Op. cit.*, p. 121.
12. Gabriel, Christine, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, p. 13.

13. "Self-Improvement," Mann Papers, Miscellaneous, 1779-1827; Bliss, W. P., Horace Mann, in *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, p. 750.
14. Dewey, John, *The Educational Situation*, p. 59.
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18. Howe, *Letters and Journals*, edited by Laura Richards, Vol. I, pp. 389-419.
19. Lewis, O. F., *Development of American Prison and Prison Customs, 1776-1845*.
20. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, pp. 260-268, 281.
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21. Call, A. D., "The Will to End War," *Advocate for Peace*, Vol. LXXXVI, (1924), pp. 228-240.
22. Greeley, Horace, in Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, p. 672.
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24. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
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27. Wach, Joachim, *A Sociology of Religion*, p. 205.
28. Sweet, William Warren, *The Story of Religion in America*, p. 373.
29. Schneider, *A History of American Philosophy*, p. 146.
30. Sweet, W. W., *Op. cit.*, p. 402; Schneider, *Op. cit.*, p. 150; Sears, Clara, *The Days of Delusion*.
31. Sweet, W. W., *Op. cit.*, p. 408.
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33. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
34. Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 315-317.
35. Barnes, Gilbert, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse*, p. 42.
36. Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
39. The author refers to Barnes' work as giving a sufficient list of the names, from the Finney revival which were connected with the abolition of slavery. A number of these names will be spoken of in a letter section.
40. Chadwick, J. W., *William Ellery Channing*, Chapters 8, 10, 11.
41. Bushnell, Horace, *Life and Letters*, edited by Mrs. Mary B. Cheney. See also, H. S. Elliot, *Can Religious Education Be Christian?* for his influence on religious education in America.
42. Quoted in Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, p. 379.

43. "Theodore Parker" in Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 419. Parker was the first to coin "of the people, by the people, for the people," which Lincoln later so ably used in his "Gettysburg Address."
44. Birney, B. J., *The American Churches*, p. 2.
45. Birney, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
46. *Exposition of views of the Baptists addressed to the Governor of South Carolina*, 1833; at the death of Rev. Furman, twenty-seven Negroes, some of them prime, two mules, one horse and an old wagon were auctioned off to the highest bidder.
47. Birney, *Op. cit.*, p. 24.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
49. Birney, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
51. Birney, *op. cit.*, p. 26-27.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
53. Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, p. 154.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
55. Birney, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
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57. Goodell, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
58. *Ibid.*
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60. Mudge, James, *History of New England Conference*. Date for the founding of the New England Wesley Anti-Slavery Society, June, 1835. See *Minutes of New England Conference*, prepared by George Whitaker, Vol. II, p. 168.
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62. Scott, Orange, *Appeal to the Methodist Episcopal Church*, p. 80, 1838.
63. Birney, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
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72. *General Conference Journals*, Vol. II, pp. 11, 12.

73. Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, p. 244.
74. Tigert, Ira I., *Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism*, p. 434.
75. Matlack, *The Anti-Slavery Struggle in American Methodism*; Sweet, *Methodism in American History*; Buckley, *A History of Methodists in the United States*.
76. Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
77. A consideration of Bishop Andrew's position is given in Smith, George C., *The History of Methodism in Georgia and Florida, from 1785 to 1865*, pp. 351-352. Andrew defends his position of owning slaves: "Strange as it may seem to you, brethren, I am a slave-holder for conscience sake. I have no doubt that my wife without a moment's hesitation would consent to the manumission of those slaves, if I thought it proper to ask it. But how was I to free them? Some are too old to work and some are little children. Where shall I send them? I believe that the providence of God has thrown these creatures into my hands and holds me responsible for their proper treatment . . . Sir, I do not believe for a moment that this body of grave and reverent ministers would make this subject of serious discussion.
78. *General Conference Journals*, May 22, 1844, Vol. II, p. 64.
79. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1844, Vol. II, pp. 65, 66.
80. *General Conference Journals*, May 31, 1844, Vol. II, pp. 75, 76.
81. McTyeire, *A History of Methodism*, p. 627.
82. *General Conference Journals*, June 1, 1844, Vol. II, pp. 82, 83; Sweet, *Op. cit.*, p. 248; Harmon, *The Organization of the Methodist Church*, pp. 39-42.
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## INDEX

## A

- Abolition Society for the Relief  
of Free Negroes, 47  
Adams, Charles F., 97, 117, 120  
African Methodist Episcopal  
Church, 125, 126  
Allen, Richard, 55, 56, 57, 127,  
128, 135, 158, 159  
American Colonization Society,  
83, 120  
American Convention of Free  
Colored People in the United  
States, 158  
American Peace Society, 173  
American Revolution, 46  
Asbury, Bishop, 54, 57, 140  
Asbury Methodist Church, 198

## B

- Baptists, 48, 60, 64, 65, 111, 112,  
120, 185, 142  
Bancroft, George, 168, 169  
Barnard, Henry, 170, 171  
Bentham, Jeremy, 160  
Benton, Thomas H., 90  
Bishop, Josiah, 182  
Blair, James, 40  
Bray, Thomas, 40  
Brisbane, Thomas, 175  
Bryan, Andrew, 62, 63, 89, 90  
Bushnell, Horace, 182

## C

- Calhoun, John, 81  
Capers, William, 141  
Caste, 15  
Channing, William E., 165  
Chauncey, Charles, —  
Chavis, John, 66

- Church of England, 40, 52  
Class, 16  
Clay, Henry, 89, 118  
Coke, Dr., 56  
Coker, Daniel, 137, 134  
Community, 14  
Congregationists, 143, 192, 43  
Crawford, William, 90

## D

- Darwin, Charles, 167, 168  
Delaware Weekly Advertiser,  
94  
Disciples of Christ, 180  
Discipline of The Methodist  
Church, 109, 110  
Douglas, Frederick, 41  
Duncan, J. M., 99  
Drayton, William, 90

## E

- Edwards, Jonathan, 47  
Eliot, John, 43  
Emerson, Ralph W., 101

## F

- Federalist Party, 80  
Feudalism, 35  
Finney Revivals, 180  
Fugitive Slaves Laws, 103

## G

- Garretson, Freeborn, 55  
Garrison, William Lloyd, 93,  
97, 98, 100, 209, 210  
Genius of Universal Emancipa-  
tion, 93, 94  
Gloucester, John, 143  
Godwyn, Morgan, 39, 50  
Greeley, Horace, 179

## H

Hamilton, Alexander, 80  
Hawkins, Sir John, 36  
Hayes, Roland, 70, 71  
Haynes, Lemuel, 66, 67, 68  
Holmes, Issac, 99  
Hooper, Issac T., 99  
Hopkins, Samuel, 44  
Hoosier, Harry, 57, 58, 214  
Howe, Gridley, 172

## I

Indian, 25

## J

Jackson, Andrew, 81, 83  
Jefferson, Thomas, 47, 80  
John's Street Church, 45, 54

## K

Kidnapping of Slaves, 106

## L

Liberator, 98, 210, 211  
Liele, George, 61  
Lundy, Benjamin, 90, 91, 92  
Lutherans, 46  
Luther, Hans, 35

## M

Mann, Horace, 170, 171  
Marriage Laws, 105  
Mather, Cotton, 44  
Mays, Benjamin, 123, 124  
Methodist Church, 48, 54, 108,  
109, 110, 116, 120, 199, 194,  
202, 203, 213  
Methodist Societies, 48  
Miller, William, 178  
Missouri Compromise, 81  
Monroe, James, 81  
Mulatto Class, 30

## N

Negro Community, 15, 34, 108,  
217

Negro Servitude, 28  
New England Conference, 59  
Noah Mordercai, 93  
Northwest Ordinance 1787, 47  
Niles, Ezekiel, 95  
Niles Weekly Register, 95

## O

Otis, James, 46

## P

Paine, Thomas, 47  
Parker, Theodore, 183  
Portugal, 36  
Presbyterians, 44, 48, 65, 108,  
10  
Prosser, Gabriel, 146, 188, 189,  
191, 192, 208  
Puritans, 43

## Q

Quakers, 42, 52, 106, 111, 116,  
117, 213

## R

Rankin, John, 96, 97  
Republican Party, 80, 82

## S

Salzburgers, 41  
Scott, Orange, 204  
Segregated Church, 15  
Separated Church, 15  
Sharp Street Church, 198  
Slavery, 16, 25  
Simon, Saint, 167  
Slave Revolts, 20, 144  
Spain, 36  
Social Protests, 11  
Society for the Propagation of  
the Gospel in Foreign Parts,  
40  
St. George Church, 57  
Stevens, Abel, 199  
Stoddard, Major Amos, 98

## T

Tappan, Arthur, 98  
 The Humane Society, 90  
 The National Law of 1807, 102  
 The Negro Within American  
   Protestantism, 17  
 The Shout, 73  
 The Society for the Relief of  
   Free Negroes Unlawfully  
   Held in Bondage, 41  
 Turner, Nat, 154, 156, 157

## U

Unitarianism, 48  
 Union Presbyterian of East  
   Tennessee, 44

## V

Varick, James, 138  
 Vesey, Denmark, 148  
 Voluntary Association, 15

## W

Wach, Joachim, 177  
 Walker, David, 159  
 Webb, Captain, 45, 55  
 Webster, Daniel, 95  
 Weeks, S. B., 111  
 Wesleyan Methodists, 45  
 Wheately, Phillis, 32, 73, 74,  
   214  
 White Indentured Servants, 29  
 Whitney, Eli, 83  
 Whittier, Johns G., 98  
 Williams, Peter, 45, 54, 137  
 Woolman, John, 42

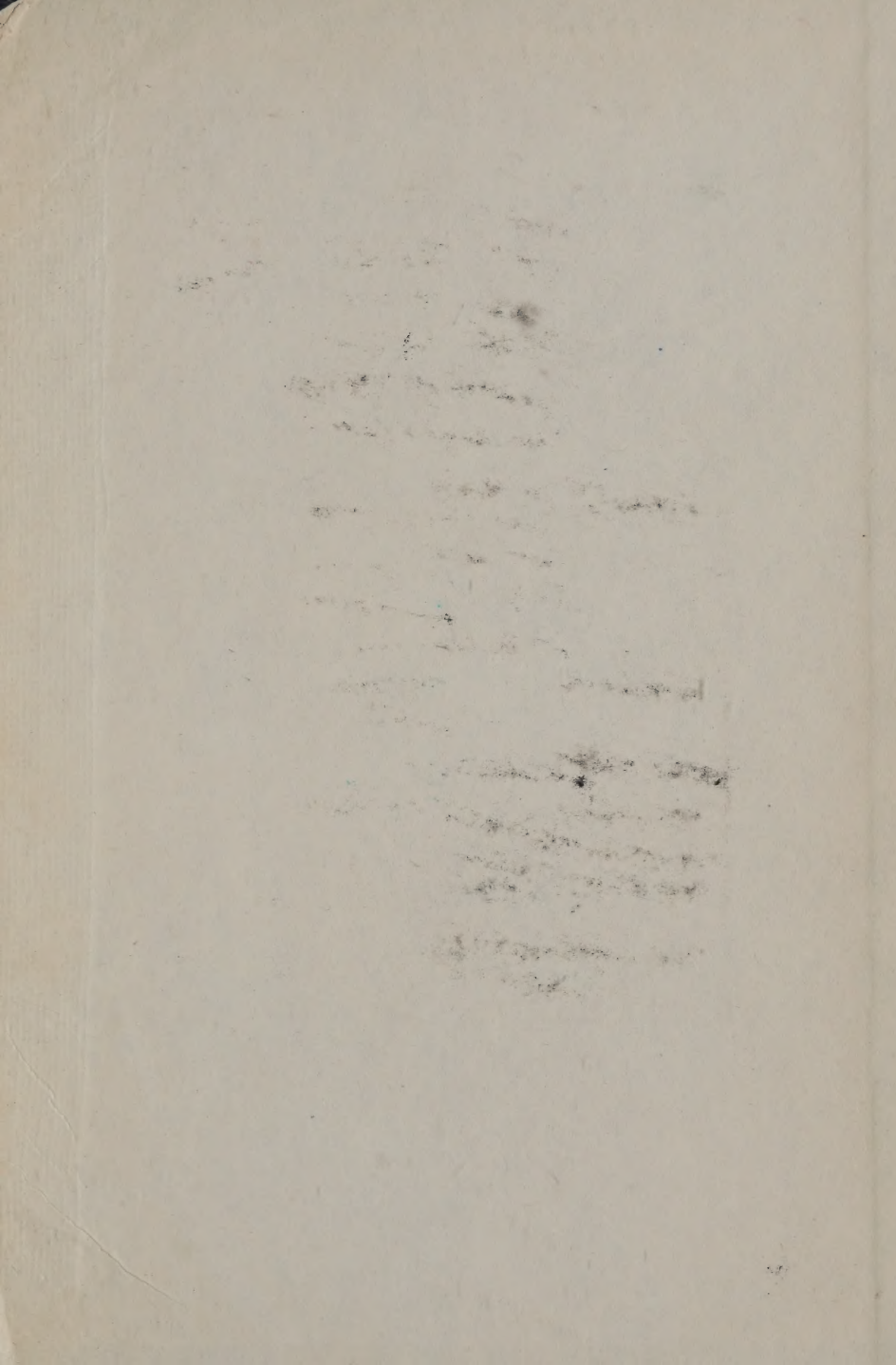
## Z

Zion's Herald, 198, 199, 204  
 Zion's Watchman, 198, 204,  
   217  
 Zoar Methodist Church, 140



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